

THE HOOVER WAR COLLECTION

AT

STANFORD UNIVERSITY
CALIFORNIA

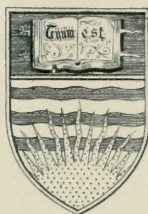
A Report and An Analysis

By E. D. ADAMS

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The gathering at Stanford University of materials for a special collection on the Great War has now been in progress for two years. Many letters have been received from interested scholars, asking when a catalogue of the collection may be expected to appear. In fact, no real catalogue has been begun and the principal reason for this is that all the effort of those active in the enterprise has been devoted, and is still being devoted, to gathering the material. Moreover, the experience of those in charge of other and smaller collections in the United States has been that early cataloguing results in disappointment and vexation. The Great War presents new and unusual problems of classification, unexpected types of materials are constantly being discovered, difficult to fit into any customary classification, and the result of early cataloguing is confusion.

Nevertheless, the importance to scholars of the materials already secured demands that they be made available, and that some general statement be issued in regard to them. Up to the present, also, no adequate report of the work in progress has been made either to the donor or to the trustees of Stanford University. It is, therefore, here intended to combine a report of operations in the field with a very general analysis of the collection as it stands, that researchers may make use of it, for until now it has been used only by graduate students of Stanford University and of the University of California. Meanwhile it is to be understood that the work of collecting will go on, as the donor has himself stated it, "for the next twenty-five years," and in this connection the hope is earnestly expressed that anyone who is interested in the undertaking will

deposited at Stanford University. Mr. Hoover had already adopted for his work a very complete record system, covering not only all details of the business of Belgian relief, but also of its government and diplomacy, for the Commission for Relief in Belgium was truly, as Sir Edward Grey described it, "a piratical *state* organized for philanthropy." Mr. Hoover, therefore, responded readily to my suggestion, and the archives of Belgian relief constitute the first item of importance in our collection. The Rotterdam files, in twenty-six large packing cases, have been received, but these are as yet unopened and are not available for study, nor will they be until they are joined by the files from the other principal offices like London and New York.

From 1914, then, the thought of an historical collection, related to the Great War, for Stanford University had been in Mr. Hoover's mind and occasionally he sent personal accounts of some especially interesting affair or interview; but the first intimation of a larger plan came in the form of a cable from Paris, in April, 1919, to Mrs. Hoover, then at Stanford University, instructing her to inform President Wilbur and myself that fifty thousand dollars (\$50,000) was available for "an historical collection on the Great War," if a "suitable commission" was at once organized and sent to Paris to undertake the work. A further exchange of cables showed that Mr. Hoover had no definite plan, but was merely impressed with the desirability of making a collection and of doing it at once, leaving details to be worked out. Speed seemed to be required if Peace Conference materials were to be secured, and in the result Mrs. Adams and I started for Paris on May 22, 1919, as a "suitable commission," leaving for later determination the scope and nature of the work and its organization.

There was not time to secure advice and counsel from those in the United States qualified to give it. We sailed from Halifax on June 2 on the *Acquitania*, still equipped as a troop transport ship, arrived in Southampton on June 8, proceeded to London, remaining three days and then crossed to Paris

on June 11. In London a conference with Mr. Hubert Hall, of the Public Record Office, brought some valuable suggestions, but otherwise no guiding advice was received. In Paris, Mr. Hoover, intensively occupied in carrying on the work of the American Relief Administration, in serving on the Supreme Economic Council, and in occasional labors with the Peace Conference, could give but little thought to planning an historical collection. Indeed, the result of an initial conference was merely to establish two points; first, that an historical collection was advisable; second, that the money was immediately available as Mr. Hoover's personal gift. This gift was to be transferred directly to me, on demand from time to time, accounts and reports were to be rendered to Mr. Hoover, and the materials once secured were to be transferred to Stanford University. That arrangement still continues, though the limit of fifty thousand dollars has since been removed by the generous donor.

My colleagues in the history field can well appreciate the joy of being so well provided with money to spend on historical materials, and also the timidities of one accustomed to fixed 'library allotments' limited to hundreds, not thousands. This detailed statement of the beginnings of the collection is introduced, in part, as apology in advance for mistakes in plan and organization made by a novice in the work of collection, and also for what may appear to some, as it certainly did to the donor, as an undue amount of begging, thus reserving expenditures for materials that could not be secured by gift. But my own belief was then, and still is, that Mr. Hoover's work for suffering peoples rendered the use of his name (at that moment the most applauded in Europe) wholly justifiable in approaching delegations at the Peace Conference, and governments generally, for assistance and for direct gifts to the "Hoover War Collection." It is needless to expand upon the fact that his name has been the one greatest asset in our enterprise.

I. D. P.: DELEGATION PROPAGANDA

Looking over the field of work, it was evident that the immediate problem was not the war, but the Peace Conference, then drawing toward a close. Paris was crowded with delegations, representing not merely nations having seats at the Peace Conference, or, if not members, having claims to present to that conference, but also delegations from peoples desiring to be established as states on the principle of "self-determination." In most cases existing states were represented in Paris both by the customary diplomatic officials and by a "delegation," but for some of the lesser states the two functions were combined in the hands of the regular diplomats. A visit to the library of the American delegation at the Hotel Crillon showed that the great bulk of the material gathered by Captain Gilchrist, in charge of that library, consisted of what was called "delegation propaganda," intended to present claims and influence decisions. Captain Gilchrist stated that many of the earlier issues of such propaganda were already very difficult to obtain, and he generously offered to us such duplicates as might come to his shelves. This offer was accepted, and throughout the work in Paris Captain Gilchrist showed himself a very generous and suggestive counselor.

But a brief study of the question of delegation propaganda revealed certain difficulties, especially as to its authenticity. The staff of the library of the American delegation was too small to do more than to list and place on the shelves whatever material came to it. The *sources* of material could not be investigated, and that this was important became clear at once when a list of materials from delegations, drawn up for me by Captain Gilchrist, was used in trying to secure such materials for our own collection. It so happened that such a list of some twenty publications, supposedly representing the arguments and claims of the Zionists, was presented early in our work to Mr. Felix Frankfurter. He at once stated that of

the twenty titles sixteen either openly or actually were really Anti-Zionist. The same condition was found to exist for many of the delegations from the smaller central European and Balkan States. The title of a document, its surface appearance, and even its contents, were no guide as to its real source and purposes. Propaganda had become a very high art at Paris.

The first problem then was to secure *authentic* delegation propaganda—authentic in the sense that it was approved and vouched for by the delegations themselves. This was accomplished by visiting in person each of the delegations in Paris, explaining our purpose, and asking for a gift of authentic propaganda and of claims presented to the Peace Conference. In every case the delegation was pleased to comply, furnishing frequently not only the more important publications and documents directly stating the cause and claims of its people, but frequently gathering for us books, pamphlets, and even reviews and newspapers, in which were expressed views of which the delegation approved, and some of which had been inspired by it. For propaganda in Paris was used to present every possible aspect of a people's claims to recognition and fair treatment by the Peace Conference. Thus the Jugo-Slav delegation, as it then called itself, distributed widely a volume of plays, "The People of the Universe," by Josif Kosor, in both French and English translations, that the artistic development of the Croatian race might be appreciated. Some delegations even drew up for us comprehensive lists of works which they could not themselves furnish, but which we were advised to purchase, as desirable for an historical understanding of the development, culture, and attainments of their people.

The work with the delegations, especially with those of the lesser peoples, was most interesting. I believe I was the only unattached American professor of history, then in Paris, not engaged in making history as an agent of the Peace Conference. It was possible to go anywhere, do anything, ask any question I wished and, not being restricted by any sense of

official responsibility, it was possible to make some unusual contacts, and to receive some unusual confidences. These, however, are not appropriate to this report, but the result was for the collection that now and then confidential documents were given which were really propaganda, but not to be acknowledged as such until the peace treaty was signed. Such documents were carefully marked as of the type indicated and now form part of our classified propaganda material. If it had been possible to be absolutely sure of that which one could only guess at with practical assurance, I would have gone further and would have attempted to classify minor state propaganda by the *sources of support*—that is by the major country which was paying the bills, both for publications and for delegation expenses. Why, for example, should the delegation of Assyria-Chaldea be domiciled at an expensive hotel, be equipped with a staff and an interpreter, while the sole and lonely representative of the rival delegation of Assyria-Nestor of the Caucasus living in the attic of a ramshackle house far out in the suburbs, be prevented from leaving his hotel by a landlord who wished at least one installment on his bill? This delegation of one was eager to present his case to us but found difficulties, since he informed us in a few words of halting French that he spoke no languages except “Russe, Arabique, Syrian, Armenian, Turque.” It seemed a justifiable use of our resources to make the needed arrangements whereby the delegation could come to our office with an interpreter and documents properly typed and organized. Rumor had it that Assyria-Chaldea of the expensive hotel had the backing of France, and Assyria-Nestor had even become suspicious of his landlord as probably an official of the French foreign office in disguise.

Montenegro still maintained her royal consulate in Paris and issued propaganda, though her territory and peoples were being represented by the Serbs who claimed enthusiastic popular Montenegrin support for Jugo-Slavia. Italian money was supposed to be back of Montenegro.

Korea was thought to be financed at Paris by China, though the presence of the first Korean delegate was due, according to his own story, to the sympathetic home rule ideas of an Irish sea captain, who bluffed Japanese officials in a Japanese port out of searching his vessel. Rumor was no good ground, however, for classifying minor peoples' propaganda under major powers. It was a relief to find, occasionally, a delegation like that of the Carpatho-Russians which quite certainly was not indebted to a major power. This delegation desired the ultimate restoration to Russia of its people of Eastern Galicia, but recognizing this as not immediately attainable, asked independence on the usual claim of "self-determination," especially protesting against incorporation in Poland—their final fate by the peace terms. The members of the delegation were long-time residents of America, representing about one hundred thousand coal miners of western Pennsylvania, and supported by voluntary contributions from this group of American workers, stirred to nationalistic sentiment by the most understandable, to European peoples, of President Wilson's fourteen points. Everywhere, with the lesser peoples' delegations, there was enthusiasm for self-determination, and desire for a protecting American mandate, as the only one which was above suspicion.

The first work at Paris, then, was the collection of delegation propaganda, making sure whether it was authorized or not, classifying it as authentic, or as miscellaneous, and marking each item of the authentic in such a way as to indicate its direct source. Much miscellaneous Peace Conference propaganda material was secured also, but it is organized in our collection as such, for the very fact that Paris was full of propaganda of which no one would acknowledge the paternity, made us especially wary. In this report no list of miscellaneous propaganda is given. This may wait for the final cataloguing process. The primary value of the Hoover War Collection of delegation propaganda is not its size, but rather that it is, we believe, the only one in existence, collected and organ-

ized on the plan of knowing what was indubitably authentic. In the following list of delegations from whom authentic propaganda was secured, it will be noted that a few larger, and several lesser, states are missing. These issued, or at least acknowledged no peace conference propaganda. Their "war time" propaganda is another matter and will be discussed later in this report, as will the securing of propaganda from the principal enemy powers.

The list which follows shows the authentic peace conference propaganda in the Hoover War Collection, organized by the fifty-four delegations from which it was secured, and with the number of separate items from each delegation. An item may be a single leaflet, a book, or a file of a journal or review, or an official representation to the Peace Conference. Regarding each title as an item, even if it represents a file of a journal, the total of items of authentic propaganda is 1298, while unidentified or miscellaneous propaganda amounts to about 645 titles.

AUTHENTIC DELEGATION PROPAGANDA AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE

Albania	6	Egypt	12
Arabia	1	Esthonia	17
Argentina	1	Euxine Pontus	6
Armenia	55	Finland	18
Assyria-Chaldea	1	Fiume	2
Assyria-Nestor of the Cauca- sus	3	France.....	132
Azerbaidjan	1	Georgia	10
Bessarabia	3	Germans in Austria	25
Bolivia	1	Germany	67
Bulgaria	70	Greece	65
Carpatho-Russians	19	Holland	2
Chile	21	Hungary	27
China	12	Italy	63
Circassia-Daghestan	13	Japan	14
Costa Rica	6	Jews.....	3
Czecho-Slovakia	29	Korea	7
Denmark	13	Kurd.....	1
		Latvia	6

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Liban	6	Portugal	9
Lithuania	23	Rumania	42
Luxembourg	1	Russia.....	42
Macedo-Roumains	2	Sweden	10
Montenegro	33	Syria	12
Norway.....	2	Turkey.....	1
Panama.....	1	Ukraine	34
Persia.....	8	Yougoslavia	228
Peru.....	6	Zionist	33
Poland.....	74		

NOTE.—The above list does not include delegation material received at Stanford University since the Peace Conference.

II. S. P.: SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS, DURING THE PERIOD OF THE WAR AND OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE, 1914-1919.

Before starting to Paris, in discussing the possibilities of the collection with Librarian G. T. Clark of Stanford University, the suggestion was made that in addition to the purchase of ordinary books and works, a special effort might be made to secure pamphlets, ordinarily difficult to trace and to secure through the regular book trade. The thought here was to collect material similar to that on the French Revolution at Cornell University, or to the special Jarboe Collection at Stanford, of pamphlets relating to Marie Antoinette. Arrived in Paris this field was investigated only to discover that "pamphleteering" in its former usage no longer existed in any large degree. Everyone who has wandered the streets of Paris will recall, however, that one of the customary sights is that of a knot of readers gathered opposite some wall on which a poster has been put up, and if he has examined these posters, will have discovered that they are screeds upon some vital topic of the day. They are occasionally the product of individual effort, and are the modern French development of individual pamphleteering. More often they are put up by some society, thus representing the pamphleteering effort of a group of people who have united for a special object. It was Mr. Robert C. Binkley, a Stanford student but recently demobilized after two years' army service in France and now attached to our work in Paris as interpreter, who, being much interested in these posters, first suggested that the society publications of France for the period of the war would be worth getting.

Consideration of this suggestion led to the conviction that here indeed was the modern equivalent of pamphleteering. A man no longer publishes quite independently his own ideas on questions of national interest. He joins a group, or society, of like-minded persons, unites with others in putting out

arguments in the form of reports, journals, books, and pamphlets, and in France, of posters. If he undertakes authorship his work appears under the auspices of the society. Here then was an apparently unworked field of materials certain to be most valuable to the historian who wished to understand the ideals and purposes of the peoples at war, and it was determined to gather as complete as possible a file, from each leading society of Paris, of all its publications of whatever nature during the period of the war. If this proved successful, the plan would be extended to other countries.

I have written "apparently unworked field," for in fact it was discovered later that the great Musée de la Guerre, in Paris, had undertaken the same work and for the same reason, and that for societies directly active in war work a collection had been made by the British Imperial War Museum. Indeed, for French societies our final comprehensive lists and addresses were largely secured through the courtesy of the Musée de la Guerre. Mr. Binkley was given special charge of this work with the societies, with instruction to secure files beginning with 1914, that by having publications antedating the outbreak of war, the student might determine the effect of the war on society activities and purposes. As the material came in, nearly all of it by gift, it proved to be of the very widest variety and of exceedingly great interest. I am convinced that the historian of the Great War will never adequately represent its effect upon the *people* of a country until he has examined and digested the society publications of the period. It is material, also, which furnishes excellent opportunity for graduate student research and theses on special topics, or on special groups of interests as represented by several societies, or for a comparison of nationalistic tendencies by comparison of similar societies in various countries. All in all this society publication material has assumed a constantly increasing importance in our eyes, and our efforts are continuous in securing it. At first it was intended to secure only the larger and more important societies, but later we collected everything,—

from societies whose publications are so extensive as to be regular journals down to societies that published only leaflets, or sometimes only mimeographed articles clandestinely distributed. It was an interesting fact that once our purpose was noised about, societies we had never heard of brought their publications to us. I was myself 'held up' once in London, just off Piccadilly Circus, and hurriedly handed, by an unknown person, a very rare file of a society suppressed by the authorities during the war.

Naturally the historical value of one society's publications may be much greater than that of another, but mere amount of annual publication is no guide to determining relative merit. In all countries there are long established societies whose annual publications are voluminous, but which have little importance since the society itself is but a "dead hand" continuation of some earlier vigorous organization. A new, poorly financed but vigorous society may be of much greater war historical value. Whatever the type they were all gathered in, provided they were not of a purely scientific nature. The test of inclusion was merely that a society was organized and worked, if ever so remotely, for some existing or desired status of society, in any of its manifestations. Occasionally it was felt that certain societies were really but performing a governmental function in devoting themselves to the issue of what was in fact national war- or peace-time propaganda. For example, the twenty-nine filled pamphlet boxes in the Hoover War Collection, which contain the gifts of the Comité Catholique de Propagande Française à l'Etranger, represent, in the main, a special feature of French governmental war propaganda, yet, being intrusted to a selected Catholic society founded for the purpose, it has seemed preferable to list such material under S. P.—Society Publications.

In Paris the work of gathering this type of material was carried on by Mr. Binkley and by personal visits and explanations of our needs. In England Mr. Binkley visited the leading London men's societies, while Mrs. Adams secured the

women's societies. Everywhere the personal explanation was preferable to the written request, for the secretaries of many societies failed to grasp our purpose and were inclined to accede to the request by merely handing over a few samples of literature. By persistence we secured files in most cases for the years 1914-1919, inclusive. For the British societies outside of London, for the continuation of the work in France, and for the United States, correspondence has been used, and while less effective than the personal visit, is yielding fair results. Agents are now at work on this type of material in Belgium and in Germany, and will be appointed in other countries. But the only countries whose societies are as yet at all adequately represented in the Hoover War Collection are France, Great Britain, and the United States, and the lists for these alone are given in this report. No exact count of titles for this part of the collection has been made, but roughly it may be estimated at about eleven thousand items. The materials, unless presented in bound form by the societies, have been placed in pamphlet boxes, shelved by countries, and alphabetically arranged by the name of the society, and a rough working card catalogue of these has been made for the use of research students.

LIST OF SOCIETIES FROM WHICH FILES OF PUBLICATIONS
DURING THE WAR HAVE BEEN RECEIVED BY THE
HOOVER WAR COLLECTION. (MARCH 22, 1921.)

A. FRANCE

Académie Française.
Action des Femmes.
Action Sociale de la Femme.
Alliance d'Education Sociale et Civique.
Alliance Française.
Alliance Nationale pour l'Accroissement de la Population Française.
Alliance Républicaine Démocratique.
Alliance Universitaire.
Association Catholique Internationale des Oeuvres de Protection de la
Jeune Fille.

Association Centrale pour la Réprise de l'Activité Industrielle dans les Régions Envahies.

Association de la Paix par le Droit.

Association du Livre Français.

Association Française pour la Société des Nations.

Association Franco-Norvégienne. (Fransk-Norsk Forening.)

Association Italo-Française d'Expansion Economique.

Association Nationale pour la Défense des Idées Françaises à l'Etranger.

Association Nationale pour l'Expansion Morale et Matérielle de la France.

Association Nationale des Porteurs Français des Valeurs Mobiliers.

Association Nationale d'Expansion Economique.

Association pour la Défense des Intérêts Français en Pays Ennemis ou Envahis.

L'Avenir.

Bureau Catholique de la Presse.

Camarades de Combat.

Cercle Commercial et Industriel de France.

Chambre de Commerce Russo-Française.

Comité Catholique de Propagande Française à l'Etranger.

Comité Central des Ligues de Familles Nombreuses.

Comité Central des Réfugiés du Pas-de-Calais.

Comité Confédéral Français du Travail Chrétien.

Comité d'Action Franco-Musulman de l'Afrique du Nord.

Comité de l'Afrique Française.

Comité de l'Asie Française.

Comité de l'Océanie Française.

Comité de Publication de Lettres à Tous les Français.

Comité des Amitiés Catholiques Françaises.

Comité d'Etude et de Propagande pour l'Etat-Pax.

Comité d'Etudes et Documents sur la Guerre.

Comité d'Initiative pour Préparer les Moyens de Liquider les Charges de la Guerre sans Impôts ni Emprunts avec la Paix Durable.

Comité Feminin Français du Travail.

Comité Franco-Amérique.

Comité Franco-Britannique.

Comité Libanais de Paris.

Comité National d'Action pour la Réparation Intégrale des Dommages causés par la Guerre.

Comité National d'Etudes Sociales et Politiques.

Comité Protestant Français.

Conciliation Internationale.

Confédération Générale du Travail.

Confédération Nationale de la Production.
Confédération Nationale du Travail.
La Conférence au Village.
Conseil National des Femmes Françaises.
Croix Rouge, Française. (Société Française de Secours aux Blessés Militaires.)
Dotation Carnégie pour la Paix Internationale.
L'Europe Orientale.
Fédération Française des Syndicats d'Employés Catholiques.
Fédération Française des Unions des Syndicats Professionnels Feminins.
Fédération Internationale des Ligues Catholiques Féminines.
France-Hollande (Association).
Groupement Intersyndical pour l'Etude des Conditions de la Paix.
Interallied Union.
Ligue Anti-Austro-Allemande.
Ligue Civique.
Ligue Coloniale Française.
Ligue de Défense Nationale contre la Franc-Maçonnerie.
Ligue de l'Action Française.
Ligue de la Jeune République.
Ligue de Représentation Professionnelle et d'Action Régionaliste.
Ligue des Droits de l'Homme.
Ligue du Libre Echange.
Ligue d'Union Sociale et Fédération des Sociétés Nouvelles. (Unité Français.)
Ligue Française.
Ligue Française pour le Droit des Femmes.
Ligue Maritime Française.
Ligue Nationale contre l'Alcoolisme.
Ligue Nationale des Révindications Françaises en Russie.
Ligue Nationale Française.
Ligue Nationale Populaire de l'Aviation.
Ligue Navale Française.
Ligue Patriotique des Françaises.
Ligue pour le Relèvement de la Natalité Française et la Défense des Familles Nombreuses.
Ligue pour une Société des Nations Basée sur une Constitution Internationale.
Ligue Républicaine de Défense Nationale. (Droit et Liberté.)
Office Français des Intérêts Féminins.
Ohabe Sion.
Parti de la Démocratie Nouvelle.
Parti Républicain-Radical et Radical-Socialiste.

Petit Patriote.
 La Plus Grande Famille.
 Presse-Associée.
 Progrès Civique.
 Publicité Catholique.
 Quatrième République. (Parti Républicain de Réorganisation Nationale.
 Roumanian Association for the Society of Nations.
 Société Centrale de Protestation contre la Licence des Rues.
 Société d'Encouragement pour l'Industrie Nationale.
 Société des Amis de l'Espagne.
 Société Nouvelle de la Publicité.
 Société pour la Défense et l'Illustration de l'Art Français.
 Syndicat des Employés du Commerce et de l'Industrie.
 Syndicat des Mécaniciens, Chaudronniers et Fondeurs de France.
 Tribune Juive.
 Union des Françaises contre l'Alcool.
 Union des Grandes Associations Françaises contre la Propagande Ennemi.
 Union des Pères et Mères dont les Fils sont Morts pour la Patrie.
 Union Fédérale des Travailleurs Anti-Révolutionnaires de France.
 Union Française d'Acheteuses.
 Union Française pour la Suffrage des Femmes.
 Union Fraternelle des Blessés de la Grande Guerre.
 Union Mutuelle Centrale des Victimes des Dommages Causés par la Guerre.
 Union Nationale Républicaine.
 Vielle France, La.

B. GREAT BRITAIN

Admiralty and Outposts Clerical Federation.
 Aegean Islands Committee.
 African Society.
 Agricultural Organization Society.
 All-India Moslem League.
 Amalgamated Union of Coöperative and Commercial Employees.
 American Chamber of Commerce.
 Anglo-American Society.
 Anglo-Hellenic League.
 Anglo-Spanish Society.
 Anti-Socialist Union.
 Associated Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom.
 Association for Moral and Social Hygiene.
 Association of Conservative Clubs.

Association of Municipal Corporations.
Boy Scouts.
Bread and Food Reform League.
Brewers' Society.
Bribery and Secret Commissions Prevention League.
Britain and India.
British and Foreign School Society.
British and Foreign Unitarian Association.
British Association for Labor Legislation.
British Commonwealth Union.
British Cotton Growing Association.
British Empire Producers' Organization.
British Empire Union.
British Italian League.
British Latin-American Chamber of Commerce
British Palestine Committee.
British Red Crescent Society.
British Red Cross.
British Russia Club.
British Temperance League.
British Union for Abolition of Vivisection.
British Women's Emigration Association.
British Workers' League.
Britons, The.
Catholic Emigration Society.
Catholic Social Guild.
Catholic Truth Society.
Catholic Women's League.
Central and Associated Chambers of Agriculture.
Central Bureau for the Employment of Women.
Central Church Committee for Defense and Instruction.
Central Committee for National Patriotic Organizations.
Central Emigration Board.
Ceylon Association in London.
Chambre de Commerce Française de Londres.
Charity Organization Society.
Cheltenham Ladies' College Guild Settlement.
Church Army.
Church Emigration Society.
Church of England Temperance Society.
Civil Service Union.
Cobden Club.
Colonial Intelligence League.

Committee on War Damage.
Commonwealth League.
Comrades of the Great War.
Coöperative Union.
Council for the Study of International Relations.
Council of Action.
Council of Loyal British Subjects of German, Austrian, and Hungarian Birth.
County Councils' Association.
Dock, Wharf, Riverside and General Workers' Union.
Duty and Discipline Movement.
East India Association.
Empire Parliamentary Association.
Employers' Parliamentary Council.
English Language Union.
English League for the Taxation of Land Values.
English Zionist Federation.
Entente Cordiale Society.
Fabian Society.
Farmers' Club.
Fawcett Association.
Federation of British Industries.
Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades of the United Kingdom.
Federation of University Women.
Fight the Famine Council.
Food Education Society.
Free Trade Union.
Friends of Armenia.
Friends of Russian Freedom.
Garton Foundation.
General Federation of Trade Unions.
Girl Guides, The.
Girls' Friendly Society.
Grotius Society.
Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland.
Home Rule for India League.
Homeless Children's Aid and Adoption Society.
Howard Association.
Imperial Commercial Association.
Imperial Institute.
Imperial Maritime League.
Imperial Patriots.

Imperial Sunday Alliance.
Income Tax Protection and Relief Society.
Income Tax Reform League.
Independent Labour Party.
Independent Labour Party, Information Committee.
Indian National Congress.
Indo-British Association.
Industrial League and Council.
Industrial Reconstruction League.
Institute of Bankers.
International Association for Labour Legislation.
International Federation for the Abolition of State Regulation of Vice.
International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners and Manufacturers' Association.
International Law Association.
Irish Press Agency.
Irish Unionist Alliance.
Junior Imperial League.
Labour Co-Partnership Association.
Labour Party.
Labour Research Department.
Land Nationalization Society.
Land Union.
League of the Empire.
Liberty and Property Defense League.
Life and Liberty Movement.
London and River Plate Bank.
London Chamber of Commerce.
London Municipal Society.
London Muslim League.
London Reform Union.
London School of Economics.
London Society.
London Society for Women's Suffrage.
London Trades Council.
Malthusian League.
Manchester Land Values League.
Manchester Statistical Society.
Manufacturing Confectioners' Alliance.
Master Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Association.
Middle Classes Union.
Miners' Federation of Great Britain.
National Alliance of Employers and Employed.

National Anti-Sweating League.
National Anti-Vaccination League.
National Association of Food Manufacturers.
National British Women's Temperance Association.
National Church League.
National Council for Civil Liberties.
National Council for the Unmarried Mother and Her Child.
National Council of Women of Great Britain and Ireland.
National Currency League.
National Democratic and Labour Party.
National Education Association.
National Farmers' Union.
National Federation of Discharged and Demobilized Soldiers and Sailors.
National Federation of General Workers.
National Federation of Women Workers.
National Food Reform Association.
National Free Labour Association.
National Guilds League.
National Housing and Town Planning Council.
National Indian Association.
National Land and Home League.
National Liberal Party.
National Organization of Girls' Clubs.
National Party.
National Political League.
National Protestant League of Church Associations.
National Safety Movement.
National Socialist Party.
National Temperance League.
National Trade Defense Association.
National Transport Workers' Federation.
National Union of Allotment Holders.
National Union of Clerks.
National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers
National Union of Railwaymen.
National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship.
National Union of Teachers.
National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.
National Union of Women Workers.
National Unionist Association of Conservative and Liberal Clubs.
Navy League.
No-Conscription Fellowship.

Northbrook Society.
Norwegian Chamber of Commerce.
Nouvelle Société Helvétique.
One Flag League.
Organizer, The.
Over-Seas Club and Patriotic League.
Patriotic League of Britons Overseas.
Peace Negotiations Committee.
Peace Society (International).
Personal Rights Association.
Polish Information Committee.
Polish Press Bureau.
Primrose League.
Property Protection Society.
Proportional Representation Society.
Protestant Alliance.
Protestant Truth Society.
Reconstruction Society.
Remembrance League.
Royal Agricultural Society.
Royal Army Temperance Association.
Royal Colonial Institute.
Royal Geographical Society.
Royal Institute of Public Health.
Royal Society of St. George.
Royal United Service Institution.
Rural Housing League.
Rural League.
Ruskin College.
Russia Society.
Russian Liberation Committee.
Russian Refugees' Relief Association.
Sailors' and Firemen's Union.
Saint Marylebone Female Protection Society.
Salvation Army.
Salvation Army, Emigration Committee.
Save the Children Fund.
Serbian Society.
Society for Befriending the Unmarried Mother and Her Child.
Society for the Overseas Settlement of British Women.
Society for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge.
Society for Promoting the Employment of Women.
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

Society of Comparative Legislation.
Society of Friends.
Society of Friends, Emergency Committee for the Assistance of Enemy
Aliens in Distress.
Society of Friends, Service Committee.
Society of Friends, Tract Association.
Society of Friends, War Victims' Relief Committee. (Friends' Emer-
gency Committee.)
Soldiers' and Sailors' Families' Association.
South African Colonization Society.
South African Native Deputation.
State Children's Association.
Sulgrave Institute.
Surveyors' Institution.
Swiss Institute.
Tariff Commission.
Tariff Reform League.
Temperance Legislation League.
Trades Union Congress.
True Temperance Association.
Ulster Unionist Council.
Union of Democratic Control.
Union of Jewish Women.
Union of Russian Zemstvos and Towns.
United Committee for the Taxation of Land Values.
United Irish League of Great Britain.
United Kingdom Alliance.
United Russian Societies' Association.
Universities' Mission to Central Africa.
Vacant Land Cultivation Society.
Victoria League.
War Emergency Committee.
War Rents League.
West Indian Contingent Committee.
White Cross League.
Women's Coöperative Guild.
Women's Farm and Garden Union.
Women's Industrial Council.
Women's Industrial League.
Women's Institute.
Women's International League.
Women's Local Government Society.
Women's National Land Service Corps.

Women Patrols Committee.
Women's Trade Union League.
Workers' Educational Association.
World Alliance of Churches.
Young Men's Christian Association.
Zionist Organization.

C. UNITED STATES

American Ambulance Hospital Fund.
American Association for International Conciliation.
American Association for Labor Legislation.
American Association to Promote the Teaching of Speech to the Deaf.
American Civil Liberties Union.
American Committee of Justice.
American Constitutional League of Wisconsin.
American Defense Society.
American Exchange National Bank.
American Expeditionary Forces.
American Federation of Labor.
American Friends of German Democracy.
American Friends' Service Committee.
Alexander Hamilton Institute.
American-Hellenic Society.
American Jewish Committee.
American Legion.
American Library Association.
American National Red Cross.
American Peace Society.
American Proportional Representation League.
American Red Cross Commission to Western Russia and the Baltic States.
American Relief Administration (European Children's Fund).
American-Roumanian Chamber of Commerce.
American-Russian Chamber of Commerce.
American School Citizenship League.
American School Peace League.
American Social Hygiene Association.
American Social Science Association.
American Tract Society.
American Union Against Militarism.
American Welfare Association for German Children.
Association Canado-Américane.
Association To Abolish War.
Babson Statistical Organization.

Boy Scouts of America.
Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers International Union.
California Farmers' Coöperative Association.
California Feed Stuffs Committee.
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
Carpatho-Russian Supreme Committee.
Chase National Bank.
Chinese National Welfare Society in America.
Church Peace Union.
Committee of American Business Men.
Committee of the Friends of Greece.
Commonwealth Club of California.
Congregational Church Building Society.
Congregational Home Missionary Society.
Czecho-Slovak National Alliance of America.
Detroit Board of Commerce.
Deutschen Sprachgruppe der Socialist Party of the United States.
Equitable Trust Company of New York.
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.
Federation of American Zionists.
Free Speech League.
Friends Book and Tract Committee.
Friends of Freedom for India.
Friends of Irish Freedom.
Friends of Roumania.
Friends of Ukraine.
Guaranty Trust Company.
Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society.
Hindustan Gadar Party.
Home Missions Council.
Hungarian-American Federation.
Institute for Public Service.
Intercollegiate Prohibition Association.
Intercollegiate Socialist Society.
International Order of Kings' Daughters and Sons.
Inter-Racial Council.
International Reform Bureau.
International Sunshine Society.
Italian Chamber of Commerce.
Italian Federation of the Socialist Party.
Japan Society.
Japan Society of America.
Jewish Publication Society.

Knights and Ladies of Security.
Korean National Association.
League for Industrial Rights.
League for Permanent Peace.
League of Free Nations Association.
League To Enforce Peace.
Life Extension Institute.
Loyal Coalition.
Maryland League for National Defense.
Massachusetts Joint Committee for a League of Free Nations.
Mayor's Committee of Women on National Defense, New York.
Mechanics and Metals National Bank.
Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.
Military Training Camps Association of the United States.
National Americanization Committee for Immigrants in America.
National American Women Suffrage Association.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
National Bank of Commerce.
National Catholic War Council.
National City Bank of New York.
National City Bank of New York, Rio de Janeiro Branch.
National Civic Federation.
National Committee of Patriotic and Defense Societies.
National Committee on the Churches and the Moral Aims of the War.
National Consumers' League.
National Economic League.
National Foreign Trade Council.
National Historical Society.
National Indian Association.
National Institute of Social Sciences.
National League for Women's Service.
National Marine League of the United States.
National Municipal League.
National Polish Committee of America.
National Polish Department of America.
National Security League.
National Urban League.
National Woman's Party.
Navy League of the United States.
Near East Relief.
New Syria National League.
Pacific Coöperative League.
Pan-Albanian Federation of America.

Pan-Epirotic Union in America.
Peace Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends.
Permanent Blind Relief War Fund for Soldiers and Sailors of the
Allies.
Polish National Council of America.
Polish Publishing Company.
Polish Victims' Relief Fund.
Public Ownership League of America.
Publicity Bureau of the Chinese Students, University of Illinois.
Rand School of Social Research.
Rockefeller Foundation.
Roumanian Relief Committee of America.
Royal Neighbors of America.
Russian Information Bureau in the United States.
Russian Soviet Government Bureau.
Security Benefit Association.
Serbian Child Welfare Association of America.
Serbian Relief Committee of America.
Social and Scientific Society of New York.
Socialist Labor Party.
Socialist Party.
Société Nationale des Professeurs Français en Amérique.
Society for the Propagation of the Faith.
Society for Visual Education.
Society To Eliminate Economic Causes of War.
State and Local Building Trades Councils of California.
Ukrainian National Association.
Ukrainian Press Service.
Volta Bureau.
Woman's Missionary Union.
World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches.
World Peace Foundation.
Young Democracy.
Young Women's Christian Association War Work Council.
Zionist Organization of America.

III. G. D.: GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS

Government documents have long held an important place in the general library of Stanford University. Indeed, in our new library building there is a special wing with a special staff devoted to this type of material, with excellent facilities for access to the shelves and for work in immediate contact with them. This is known as the "Document Room," containing some 35,000 volumes, which are the publications of governments. Among the best of these are first, a splendid set of United States documents, 7,000 volumes; second, a set of the British Sessional Papers, from 1800 to the present date, 4,500 volumes; third, a complete set of Canadian Sessional Papers and of Debates, 1867 to date, 1,000 volumes; fourth, a fairly adequate set of Australian government documents; fifth, partial and incomplete sets for many other countries. Complete sets of debates, or legislative proceedings, for the four countries named above are also in the "Document Room"; as also partially complete sets of debates for other countries.

These facts are stated because the existence of this type of material in such large quantity at Stanford had a definite bearing on a part of our work for the Hoover War Collection, and, in certain cases, on the methods used in gathering it. From the first it was desired to make a fairly complete collection of government documents, not merely from the nations at war, but from all the nations, during the period of the war, 1914-1919, inclusive, since the neutral nations also were affected by the war, and their government documents will reveal, in part, their reactions to it. At first it was felt that to ask from each nation a gift of *all* its government documents for the period indicated was unwise, and the original requests were limited to those documents which were regarded as of most interest in a war collection. These were:

- (1) Diplomatic publications.
- (2) Military publications, showing campaigns, organization of armies, etc.
- (3) Legislative debates.
- (4) Documents in any way dealing with questions of food supply and administration.

This last, both here, and in all parts of our work, has been constantly emphasized, and in fact, is the one outstanding feature of the collection.

It was soon found, however, that governments were just as willing—even preferred—to give a blanket promise for all government documents during the period 1914-1919, as to be bothered with making a selection. Also further consideration convinced us that it was important for historical purposes to have *complete* sets of documents, for many things included in them, though not included in the four categories listed above, exhibit war reaction. Even the omission, in 1916 let us say, of government activities customary in 1914 is presumably a war reaction. For these reasons, after a short initial experience, the request was always made for *everything* for the period 1914-1919, inclusive.

Work on government documents was not undertaken until that for delegation propaganda was nearly completed. These two fields were my own special work. That for the delegation propaganda had established contacts, and in many cases, I hope, established friendships, which made it easy to return with a request for government documents. In general, promises were usually given with readiness, for the material itself was not available at Paris,—and in most cases, these promises have either been fulfilled, or have been renewed by letter with explanation of causes of delay. In every case the offer was made to buy the materials, if the government did not care to give, but usually officials in Paris were by this time genuinely interested in our collection plans, and glad to help us. And always the name, "Hoover War Collection," opened all doors. In general, then, the lists, which will be

subjoined, of countries whose documents we have, represent gifts, save usually transportation charges, and there seems no need to differentiate here gift and purchase materials. In fact, in a few cases, when gifts seemed unlikely, purchases were made, only to have the government concerned *insist*, later, on making a gift, resulting in some slight duplication for the collection.

Before listing the countries from which government document materials have been received, it seems advisable to mention a few unusual conditions that arose in connection with this work, in relation to certain States. Indeed, for some of these States an explanation is required that it may be understood just what has been secured.

The French documents include not merely those published by the Central government, but also the annual publications of the Departments of France, such as the Procès-Verbaux des Délibérations du Conseil Général, for an examination of these showed many interesting war activities of the people, that do not appear in any other publications. All through the four months spent at Paris, June to October, 1919, I was greatly aided by M. Camille Thurwanger, of the central French propaganda agency, and it was he who first called attention to the value of Departmental documents.

In July, Mrs. Adams and I were invited by Captain Charles Leach, a former Stanford student and friend, to motor with him from Paris to Brussels, on one of his weekly hospital inspection trips. It should here be stated that one principle, early adopted, of our work, was to make as nearly as possible a *complete* collection of every type of historical material on the war relating to Belgium. For this country we put no limits, and this because of the special relation of Mr. Hoover to the Belgian people, and because we were to have the complete archives of the Commission for Relief in Belgium. One object of this trip to Brussels was to appoint an agent who would make a collection of all German orders, proclamations, and posters in Belgium, but this proved unnecessary

because an enterprising publishing firm of Brussels, that of Van Oest, had already undertaken this work in many volumes, then appearing, and the purchase of this series, much more usable than the posters themselves, was a simple method of carrying out what I had feared would be a difficult undertaking. In Brussels we were at the time, and have been since, greatly aided by the generous efforts of Professor Leon Leclère, Recteur of the Université libre de Bruxelles. But especially, in the matter of government documents, thanks are due to M. Emile Francqui, mining engineer and a banker of world reputation, who personally requested M. Albert Henry, of the Ministry of Agriculture, to aid us. M. Henry has devoted much time and energy to the work with the result that a truly wonderful collection of Belgian government documents, some twelve hundred items, has been received, covering the period 1910 to 1919, for, as M. Henry truly observed, "it is necessary for Belgium to go back of 1914, if one would understand the governmental life of my country before it was throttled by the German invasion." This collection covers not merely Belgium proper, but Belgian Congo as well.

In Paris, personal contacts were possible with the representatives of all states except those of the enemy powers. The delegations of these powers were located outside of Paris and no one was permitted to go to them except the regular liaison officer of each of the powers at the Peace Conference table. Through the courtesy of Mr. Henry White, of the American Commission, and of Major Royal Tyler, the liaison officer, correspondence was carried on with the German and Austrian delegations, and certain arrangements made with the Austrian which rendered unnecessary any personal contact. The Bulgarian government was reached in another way to be described later. The Turkish delegation was early sent home by the Peace Conference to await its turn, and it is only now, in 1921, that our collection efforts have been taken up with it by an agent sent to Constantinople. But letters to the German delegation got unsatisfactory results, so that early in August I

determined to go, if possible, to Berlin. Since peace terms had not as yet been followed by resumption of passport regulations, this was somewhat a mission of adventure, easily arranged as far as Cologne, but more problematical as to getting through the British zone of control. Without dilating on the adventures encountered, it is enough to say that Berlin was reached with relative ease, and once there, with personal explanations to Minister Naumann, of the publicity section of the Foreign Office, arrangements were completed for an excellent, though not complete, set of war period German government documents. It was interesting and illuminating to enter, practically unannounced, Bismarck's old official palace, knock on a door to which I was directed by an un-uniformed messenger, and be summoned by a shout from within of "Herein!" While talking with Minister Naumann, another knock came at the door, answered by the same "Herein!" and in walked an American newspaper correspondent, who, with hat on head, cigar in mouth, tilted at an aggressive angle, greeted the Minister with, "Well, Chief, what's the news today?" Democratic simplicity was at high tide in Berlin. The German government document collection secured as a result of this visit has a special personal interest in that the materials later sent to us were evidently gathered from the files of officials formerly high in the administration of the Empire, and often are marked with their autographs and sometimes with their marginal comments.

In Berlin, I found attached to General Harries' American Military Mission, which had been there since shortly after the armistice, a former student and friend, Lieutenant Ralph H. Lutz, who, before the war had been Assistant Professor of European history at the University of Washington, Seattle. He was of invaluable assistance in this work for Germany, and as soon as the Military Mission was closed in August, 1919, he secured demobilization and started for the Hoover War Collection on a trip through Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Hungary, Serbia, Bulgaria, Italy, and Switzerland. In all of

these countries he secured, among other matters, promises of government documents, and it was in this way that the enemy power, Bulgaria, was reached. This State has furnished us with a very complete set of its documents. Professor Lutz' other activities will be noted, in part, in another portion of this report. He is now Associate Professor of History at Stanford University, and a director of the Hoover War Collection.

The collection from Finland deserves special mention. With this country Mr. Hoover had early established food supply relations, thereby relieving a very desperate situation. Also he had been personally instrumental in securing recognition for Finland by the Peace Conference,—so interested in fact, that a portion of a certain letter of his to the Peace Conference was ordered cut into the stone wall of its legislative chamber by the Finnish government. In Paris, Professor Y. Hirn, of the University of Helsingfors, when talking with me about materials to be secured for our collection, requested permission to gather and organize Finnish materials for us, and of all kinds. This he has done, sending not merely government documents, but also an excellent selection of general books illustrative of the life and culture of his people. Moreover a specially printed catalogue of this collection, limited to twenty copies, was prepared by him, stating the reasons for the gift. Through our agent, Professor Frank A. Golder, who has since been working in the Baltic countries, arrangements were later made for exchanges of regular publications between Stanford University and the various universities of Finland.

In October, 1919, our offices were transferred to London, largely with the twofold purpose of making sure of securing British society publications, and of getting everything possible in British government documents. Again I devoted my work to this latter field, though arranging for the selection of a purchasing agent of general books, and for a shipping agency. The question of British government documents had this unusual feature, that Stanford University had long had a standing order, filled annually, for the regular Sessional Papers to be

added to our British set. But of recent years, and especially during the war, the various ministries of Great Britain have been in the habit of issuing documents through the Stationery Office, which are for sale, but which are not included in the regular Sessional Papers. Thus, our purchase set, if we depended on that, would be lacking valuable war materials. Moreover, during the war the various ministries printed (not published) much material intended for confidential circulation, which was not listed in the Stationery Office catalogues. For example, the Foreign Office issued a confidential weekly summary of labor and industrial conditions in the enemy countries, and the Ministry of Labour had its own weekly 'spy' summary of similar character.

My first intention was to make a request upon the Foreign Office for a general gift by *all* ministries of the material which does not find its way into the Sessional Papers, but I was advised that this was a doubtful method, and at best would be a very slow one. In the end, I secured from our Ambassador, Mr. John Davis, who was sincerely and courteously interested in our work, letters of introduction to each of the twenty-six ministries of Great Britain. Contact was thus established, usually with the personal secretary to the minister, less frequently with the minister himself, and in every case there was given to our request not merely courteous attention, but an active interest, for everywhere there was quick appreciation of the scope and value of our efforts for a comprehensive document collection.

In making inquiries as to war-time activities of the ministries, it was learned that certain of these activities had been performed largely by the London County Council,—acting virtually as a government in itself in the great city of London. The request was therefore made for all its important war-time publications. This request was granted and a very carefully organized collection was made for us by the clerk of the council.

In London are established the Agents-General of the larger

British Colonies, and of the states of the Empire. There is not only a High Commissioner for the Dominion of Canada, but each province of Canada maintains its Agency-General. This is true also for the Commonwealth of Australia, and there are Agents-General for many of the colonies.

To all of these a personal visit was paid and a request made for government documents. Great aid in this work was given by Sir Charles Lucas, K. C. B., and by Mr. Evans Lewin, librarian of the Royal Colonial Institute. Mr. Lewin organized the whole plan of work with the British Colonies not represented by Agents-General in London, listing their documentary publications, and even selecting important British chambers of commerce in the colonies, and colonial newspapers, upon which requests for valuable materials might be made. His instructions have been closely followed with most satisfactory results, though colonial newspaper files have not been secured in any large numbers. The chamber of commerce material, consisting of annual reports and other publications, has proved so valuable, however, that it will be listed separately below. In some few cases the contact with chambers of commerce has resulted in the placing in our collection of their selected *letter files* bearing on the war, and more of this type of material would be welcomed by us. All this British colonial material has been roughly catalogued and is available for use.

As an illustration of the kind of material gathered, a list for one year, 1914, is here inserted of that received from the Federated Malay States, through the interest of Sir William I. Taylor, K. C. M. G., and of Mr. Thomas H. Reid.

LIST OF REPORTS RECEIVED FROM THE FEDERATED MALAY
STATES FOR 1914

Annual Report (Chief Secretary).	Police.
Perak.	Agriculture.
Selangor.	Malay States Volunteer Rifles.
Negri Sembilan.	Malay College, Kuala Kangsar.
Pahang.	Museums.
Geologist.	Malay States Guides.

Railways.	Trade and Customs.
Registrar of Companies.	Forest.
Fisheries.	Mines.
Marine.	Medical.
Chinese Affairs.	Financial.
Public Officers' Guarantee Fund.	Posts and Telegraphs.
Public Officers' Quinquennial.	Survey.
Printing.	Labour.
Public Works.	Kelantan.
Education.	Trengganu.
Malay Studies.	Kedah and Perlis.
Supreme Court.	

In the case of government documents issued between 1914 and 1919 by the Dominion of Canada, the same arrangement has been made as for the British documentary material, and for the same reason. Stanford University Library has a complete set of Canadian Sessional Papers, and receives regularly the annual publications. Hence the arrangement made for the Hoover War Collection is that those Canadian Dominion publications which are not included in the Sessional Papers shall be sent to us. At the time of writing this report, these materials, owing to the mislaying of an initial request list, have not yet been received by us, but are in process of being organized at Ottawa.

For United States documentary material an arrangement has been made with the Library of Congress for a supply of all documents securable, which are not included in the regular United States document volumes. This is a part of the exchange arrangement with the Library of Congress to be explained in greater detail in another portion of this report.

The total number of items received in the government document classification is twenty-seven thousand. These have not been catalogued but have been arranged by countries and accession lists have been made showing the main types of materials.

COUNTRIES FROM WHICH GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS HAVE BEEN RECEIVED OR PROMISED

RECEIVED

Argentina.	Holland.
Australia.	Honduras.
Belgium.	Hungary.
Bulgaria.	Japan.
Colombia.	Mexico.
Cuba.	Nicaragua.
Denmark.	Norway.
England.	Poland.
Finland.	Sweden.
France.	Switzerland.
Germany.	Uruguay.
Guatemala.	Venezuela.
Haiti.	

PROMISED

Austria.	Papal See.
Canada.	Peru.
Esthonia.	Roumania.
Greece.	Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.
Italy.	Spain.
Latvia.	Turkey.
Lithuania.	

LIST OF BRITISH COLONIES FROM WHICH GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS HAVE BEEN RECEIVED

Australia, Commonwealth of—	New Brunswick.
New South Wales.	Newfoundland.
Queensland.	Ontario.
South Australia.	Quebec.
Western Australia.	Cape of Good Hope.
Bahamas, The.	Ceylon.
Barbados Islands.	Cyprus.
British Guiana.	Dominica.
British Honduras.	East Africa Protectorate.
Canada, Dominion of—	Federated Malay States.
British Columbia.	Fiji.
Manitoba.	Gibraltar.

Gold Coast.	Rhodesia.
Grenada.	St. Vincent.
Hong Kong.	Sierra Leone.
India.	Straits Settlements.
Jamaica.	Tasmania.
Malta.	Trinidad and Tobago.
Mauritius.	Turks and Caicos Islands.
Montserrat.	Uganda Protectorate.
Natal.	Union of South Africa.
New Zealand.	West Indian Committee.

BRITISH CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE FROM WHICH MATERIALS
HAVE BEEN RECEIVED

Associated Chambers of Commerce of the Commonwealth of Australia.
Bombay Chamber of Commerce.
Brisbane Chamber of Commerce.
British Chamber of Commerce in Brazil.
British Chamber of Commerce in Paris.
Cape Town Chamber of Commerce.
Ceylon Chamber of Commerce.
Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce.
Melbourne Chamber of Agriculture.
Melbourne Chamber of Commerce.
Pretoria Chamber of Commerce.
Punjab Chamber of Commerce.
Saskatoon Board of Trade.
Shanghai General Chamber of Commerce.
Singapore Chamber of Commerce.
Sydney Chamber of Commerce.
Tientsin Chamber of Commerce.
Toronto Board of Trade.
Tuticorin Chamber of Commerce.
Vancouver Board of Trade.

IV. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS EXCHANGE AGREEMENT

In the summer of 1919 Mr. Herbert Putnam was in Europe looking after the work of the Library of Congress in relation to its services for the American forces. He was also arranging certain purchases of war history materials and was much interested in our own work. The result of several conversations was that an agreement was entered into by which it was hoped the Library of Congress and the Hoover War Collection might be serviceable to each other, especially in the way of exchange of duplicate materials. We gathered, for example, wherever possible, *duplicate* files of society publications, and both in Paris and London transferred these to the shipping agents of the Library of Congress. To some extent also, we gathered duplicate lots of delegation propaganda, though our own work in this field was largely finished when the agreement with Mr. Putnam was entered upon, and he, also, had already secured much Peace Conference propaganda through its collection by Captain Gilchrist.

A definite agreement, then, has been made with the Library of Congress for exchange of duplicate materials.

The expectation of both of us in making this arrangement is to establish the two principal American centers for war history materials at the Library of Congress on the Atlantic Coast, and at Stanford University on the Pacific Coast. Various minor items of value have been received by us from the Library of Congress, but the item of great importance has been a collection of files of newspapers for the period of the war. The lists of these newspapers will be given under the general heading of "Newspapers," inclusive also of further files received from other sources, but it may be stated here that this exchange lot provided by the Library of Congress comprised complete files of eleven American dailies, and incomplete files (since largely completed from another source) of

forty-eight foreign press newspapers, mainly Austrian and German. In mere size this was a carload of "exchanges" (some few other materials than newspapers being included), and totaled 81,535 copies of newspapers.

Our own exchange offers to the Library of Congress, other than the materials already mentioned as transferred in Paris and London, were delayed by the necessity of caring for materials pouring in upon us, and it was not until January, 1921, that it was possible to draw up a first list of duplicates available. This list included items from government documents, delegation propaganda, society publications, and a few miscellaneous items. The list represented roughly the duplicates discovered in the organization of about one fifth of our collection. It contained 588 items, mostly of a type which would not ordinarily come in to the Library of Congress, and it was gratifying to learn that of this total the Library of Congress wanted all but twenty-six items. Naturally the Hoover War Collection will be the principal beneficiary, so far as mere bulk of materials is concerned, in the arrangement made with Mr. Putnam, but we believe that in the case of materials more difficult to secure, or more rare, the exchange agreement will not prove an unequal one to the Library of Congress.

V. PURCHASE OF ORDINARY BOOK MATERIAL

The problem of buying war books would have been easy if we were to follow the system of one national government which simply gave to a book dealer, in Berlin, a blanket order, without limit of expense, for "all German books on the war." But having no national treasury back of us, it was decided to go very slowly in this field, to take advice everywhere, and to purchase at first only such books as had proved of value *during* the war, and such as were appearing of distinct importance since the war. This is still our principle. We are slowly establishing contacts with qualified advisers in various countries, and selecting dependable agents through whom to place orders,—these agents themselves being of such established reputation in the business of book selling as to make us ready, usually, to follow out their suggestions both as to books and as to collections of special war material. Before undertaking any purchases whatever, a careful study was made of the collection gathered at the Musée de la Guerre in Paris. This remarkable war collection, unquestionably the best in existence in so far as general books and general illustrative materials are concerned, is due to the efforts of M. Henri Leblanc, who first undertook it as a private enterprise, but later succeeded in having it taken over by the French government. M. Leblanc and his assistants gave us every facility and much time was spent in the Musée de la Guerre, but without great benefit in determining what was worth our purchase in the book markets, because there was then no analytical catalogue for the Musée de la Guerre, except a very excellent one in manuscript for the German book section. Our first purchase order for French books was, however, worked out by examination of the books themselves as they stood in the Musée de la Guerre.

But the very examination of this vast number of books in the Musée de la Guerre reinforced the decision to proceed

slowly in purchases in the book market. Purchases are being made only after examination of analytical catalogues or lists, or upon dependable advice. Thus our total number of items to date from purchases in the regular book markets is but 4450. Two exceptions, however, should be stated to this slow process of purchase. We have 'plunged' with extensive orders for (a) Belgian works about Belgium and the war, (b) works produced in neutral countries on the neutrality of that country. The principal agencies and advisers established in various countries are as follows:

France.—The book selling firm of Honoré Champion, whose present head is M. Edouard Champion, is our purchasing agent, and in some degree our adviser, for, subsequent to the initial order drawn up by me and placed with him for about twelve hundred titles, M. Champion was engaged to submit lists of recommended purchases of French, Swiss, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese works. This firm binds all works sold to us.

Belgium.—Here, as already explained, there is no problem of selection, but rather of securing everything; but here, in fact, Professor Leon Leclère, Recteur of the Université libre de Bruxelles, acts as adviser.

Germany and Austria.—During the months spent by Lieutenant Ralph H. Lutz in Berlin as a member of the American Military Mission, he found time to make a study of German war history publications, and when I made contact with him in August, 1919, he was readily interested in making for us a selected list of worth-while books. His instructions were to buy selected works published in either Germany or Austria during the period of the war, and especially to get together everything of value, except posters, bearing on the Spartan revolutions. The result is that for Germany and Austria we have a better book and political pamphlet collection at present than for any other countries. The agency was placed with the firm of Dietrich Reimer, Berlin, and their advice has proved of value. These books are unbound. Mr. Lutz, on

his later trip for us through Central and Southeastern Europe, also made small purchases in Warsaw, Zurich, Prague, Vienna, Buda-Pesth, Belgrade, and Sofia, but no permanent agencies have been established in these cities.

Great Britain and the British Colonies.—London is the central market for the book trade of the whole British Empire. Here then it was necessary to make arrangements that would cover a very wide field of publications, and here it was necessary to go with special caution because in the early years of the war the Stanford University Library had purchased extensively English war books. The librarian had drawn up for us a list of such works, amounting to some eight hundred titles, and when examined by the special agent ultimately employed, this list seemed to him to make unnecessary any thorough search for books published between 1914 and 1917. The British field was so large that it was not possible to ask anyone to *give* his services in the work of selection, so the problem was to find some capable agent who would accept pay. On the advice of Professor A. F. Pollard, of the University of London, Mr. Maurice Perlzweig was engaged. He was to place orders for us with the firm of B. F. Stevens & Brown, who were also acting as our shipping agents for government documents and society publications secured in London. Mr. Perlzweig was to have the privilege, if he desired to use it, of submitting his lists of proposed purchases to Dr. G. W. (Sir George) Prothero, editor of the *Quarterly Review*, Mr. Hubert Hall, of the Public Record Office, and Mr. Richmond, literary editor of the *London Times*, all of whom were much interested in our work, and most courteous in offers of assistance. This seemed an excellent arrangement for securing well selected books, but it has not worked satisfactorily because of the repeated illnesses of Mr. Perlzweig, with consequent delays and confusion. In the final result, we have turned to the sound advice of Mr. Brown of Stevens & Brown, and to our own examination of reviews for the selection of books to be ordered. The result is, that while the University Library

has an excellent limited selection of British war books for the years 1914 to 1917, the Hoover War Collection at present has not nearly so large a representation of British books as it has of other countries.

Holland.—A special purchase of works on Dutch neutrality has been made through the firm of Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague. This firm is also very active in securing and offering for sale general war history materials of all descriptions, and several purchases of other than book materials have been made through it.

South America.—Professor P. A. Martin, holding the chair of South American history at Stanford University, has made for us a comprehensive list of books on the war published in South America. This list has been placed with Brentano's, New York, with instructions to secure works and bind them for us as rapidly as possible. This arrangement has been in force since March, 1920, and up to date is represented by sixty titles. The total amount of war book publications from South America is not large, and in this field it is our purpose to secure practically everything.

These book purchases have not all been catalogued, but in all cases exact lists of books purchased have been furnished by the selling agencies, and these lists make the books available for use.

VI. SPECIAL PURCHASES

No special efforts have been made to secure private or unusual collections of war materials, but all those voluntarily offered to us have been examined with care, and where these appeared to fit into our plans and to be reasonable in price a purchase has been made. Up to the present, however, individual collections, and agencies also, are inclined to put an absurdly high price on their offers. In fact the prices of war collections are still all guess work; they vary, indeed, from week to week.

In Paris there were many curious offers of newspaper clippings, religiously kept throughout the war by persons who foresaw the possible value of such clippings after the war was over, but in every case those offered to us had been made without preserving the name of the paper, and frequently without the dates. It was difficult and disheartening to convince their organizers that such files of clippings had no value. One gentleman, with a packet of twenty-four neatly bound volumes of clippings, started with an offer of the lot for 8,000 francs, and in the end suggested a trade for an American Army "seed car" (a motorcycle with side seat), which he was sure an American could get for nothing in the general scrapping of army material. Another such vendor was the author of a not unknown work of accepted historical value in the early eighties of the last century, yet he had no appreciation of the worth of dates and names in newspaper clippings—indeed, he was most indignant at our refusal to buy.

Purchases of special collections or special items, then, were not frequent, but some few such purchases have been made, the more important of which are as follows:

Gazette des Ardennes.—This French language newspaper, edited by three renegade Frenchmen in the region of Northern France occupied by the Germans, and constituting a German official presentation of war news to conquered French subjects,

has unusual interest and unique value. Complete files of it are rare, so that when a teacher in a boys' school, in the outskirts of Paris, appeared, stating that he had such a file buried in a cellar in Northern France, and that he wanted to sell it, he was told to bring it to Paris for examination. The file proved to be complete except for one number, and was purchased. We probably paid too much for it, as the seller seems to have gained the impression that I was a "rich American" and later opened negotiations with me for a marriage arrangement by which he would supply himself and an "ancient chateau," needing restoration, in return for an "agreeable and cultured American heiress."

Libre Belgique.—Naturally, being Belgian material, it was necessary to secure this interesting publication, and a file was obtained through Nijhoff, at The Hague, including not only each number but also the various impressions of each number, for not all impressions of a number were always printed in the same shop.

Documents of the Moment.—Of similar character, but without illustrations, is the very rare "Documents of the Moment" (Z Dokumentów Chewili), issued in pamphlet form in some one hundred numbers in Poland during the period of German occupation. This was not a purchase, however, but was a gift by the Polish government, which has the only other complete file known to exist.

Belgian Newspapers.—Pursuing the policy of "everything by Belgians on Belgium," a considerable file of Belgian newspapers, published during the war, whether in that country or in Holland, was purchased through Nijhoff. These papers are listed under "VIII. Newspapers," and the files are very nearly complete.

Smith Collection.—In London, Dr. Prothero called my attention to a collection of German books, pamphlets, posters, and a few newspapers, made by Dr. T. F. A. Smith during the earlier period of the war, 1914-1917, which the owner was now willing to sell. An examination of a catalogue supplied

by Dr. Smith showed that while his collection duplicated in some small measure the materials secured for us by Mr. Lutz, there was still considerable valuable material we had not secured, and which was now difficult to obtain. No catalogue of this material has yet been made, but the eleven hundred items in it are available for use through the sale catalogue furnished us. Some of the special features of this collection are "German War Correspondents' Reports," "German Women and the War," "Social Democrats and the War," "German Universities, Schools, and the War," "War Religion and the Churches," etc., etc.

"War Book Club" Collection.—This is a collection of printed books, a few files of reviews, and some miscellaneous material, started by Messrs. Lange and Berry in London early in the war, with the ambitious plan of gathering "all books about the war." The originators were forced to suspend their own activities when called to active military service, but friends and agents kept the work alive, though in rather haphazard fashion. The accession catalogues (which we have) show gaps of months in acquisitions, and then intensive collections for short periods. The entire collection was offered to our London agents, B. F. Stevens & Brown, in November, 1920, and they at once sent to us the accession catalogues with the suggestion that we cable authority to purchase. This was done, even though a good half of the collection is duplication of works already secured by us. The non-duplicate portion was worth the price. Also it was early determined not to be over fearful in our collection efforts of the question of duplication. The advice of the Musée de la Guerre is, in fact, to get *triple* sets of important material, if obtainable, since later these will be of value in exchanges. The "War Book Club" collection contains 1867 items and can be used by means of the original accession catalogues.

United States National War Labor Board Docket.—This consists of eight volumes of decisions of the board and of the minutes of board meetings. The offer to make up this record

came through Mr. Hugh S. Hanna, of the Bureau of Applied Economics, Inc., in Washington, D. C., after an inquiry addressed by us to the Department of Labor asking whether such material was in print and obtainable. It was not in print and much of it had to be copied from the one typewritten record in the possession of the Bureau of Applied Economics, Inc. This was very expensive material, but in cases where materials relate to industrial or to food questions during the war, expense is a secondary consideration.

VII. POSTERS, PROCLAMATIONS AND ORDERS

In the matter of large posters and proclamations, the decision was reached early not to attempt any comprehensive collection. They constitute, unquestionably, valuable historical material, though the usual display posters, urging war loans, etc. are of less value than official proclamations and orders. In either case it is difficult to preserve posters for use by students as they quickly fall to pieces on repeated folding and handling, and their size in itself prevents study and analysis by comparison. Picture posters especially we decided to neglect, and in the result are satisfied this was wise since in many countries splendid miniature reproductions of national war picture posters are now being issued in album form, and these albums we are purchasing. For example, the Poster Photograph Album, issued by Thomas J. White, Inc., Brooklyn, New York, is a beautiful work in itself and offers to the student of such materials an excellent opportunity to make comparisons of the twenty-five hundred posters reproduced.

Nevertheless the Hoover War Collection has several thousand posters from all the countries at war. These have come in, usually, in gifts of other materials by governments, or as odd bits in some special collection purchase. The only type of picture poster, of which we may be said to have anything like a special collection, is of Bolshevik posters from Hungary and from the Baltic states. But in the case of proclamations and orders, an exception has been made in the purchase from Emil Grimm, in Berlin, of a complete collection of official proclamations and posters placarded in that city from August, 1914, to April 30, 1920, over 2,300 pieces in all. The reason for this exception is our effort to obtain in as complete a form as possible all materials bearing on the Spartacan revolutions in Germany, and the special proclamations desired were apparently not to be secured except by purchase of the Grimm collection.

VIII. NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

In the matter of newspaper files for the period of the war our original intention was to secure merely two or three files from each country, selecting these, as nearly as possible, on the basis of obtaining the leading paper supporting the government, and the leading anti-government paper. This is still our general plan, and still incomplete, for the pressure of other efforts has delayed the securing of newspaper files from several countries. Also the Hoover War Collection will not purchase files of newspapers or periodicals regularly received by the University Library.

In the meantime, however, special opportunities have occasionally arisen to secure some newspaper files, and these have been acquired as the opportunity came. The list given below is organized in groups, as a rough classification of types of material.

A. GOVERNMENTAL DIGESTS OF THE NEWSPAPER PRESS

France—

Bulletin Quotidien de Presse Etrangère.....	515 numbers
Bulletin Périodique de la Presse.....	595 numbers
Recueil de Documents Etrangers.....	57 numbers

Germany—

Review of the Foreign Press (incomplete).....	700 numbers
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Great Britain—

British Review of the Foreign Press, with various supplements (incomplete)	1500 numbers
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Serbia—

Review of the Enemy Press from the Serbian Press Bureau in Geneva (complete file).....	1-85
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United States—

American Expeditionary Forces Press Review.....	1-473
Summary of Air Information.....	1-103
Summary of Information.....	1-250
Summary of Intelligence	1-286

These governmental digests are invaluable in the study of the war, and we are securing, as fast as possible, missing numbers, especially of the British digest.

B. FOREIGN PRESS FILES

This includes a few leading newspapers from the more important countries, and a remarkably complete collection of German and Austrian newspapers for the period of the war, secured partly by the exchange arrangement with the Library of Congress, and partly by purchase. The exchange offer was accepted when it was learned that the incomplete files of duplicates in the Library of Congress could be completed in many cases, by buying from the Carnegie Institution of Historical Research, at Washington, the files used by that body in furnishing the Department of State with a digest of the German and Austrian press. The list below therefore represents the combination of files from these two sources. Not all files are complete, but most are nearly so, and this material, when organized for use by students, should prove next in importance to that at the Library of Congress.

Algemeen handelsblad (Nieuwe Amsterdamsche Courant), Amsterdam.	Journal de Genève, Geneva.
A. B. C., Madrid.	Kölnische Volkszeitung.
Arbeiter Zeitung, Wien.	Kölnische Zeitung.
Avanti, Milan.	Leipziger Neueste Nachrichten.
Berliner Börsenzeitung.	Leipziger Volkszeitung.
Berliner Tageblatt.	Muenchener Neuste Nachrichten.
Berliner Lokal Anzeiger.	Muenchener Post.
Corriere della sera, Rome.	Neue Freie Presse, Wien.
Daily Chronicle, London.	Neue Preussische Zeitung, Berlin.
Daily Herald, London.	Neues Wiener Journal.
Deutsche Allgemeines Zeitung, Berlin.	Neues Wiener Tageblatt.
Deutsche Reichsanzeiger, Berlin.	Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant.
Deutsche Tageszeitung, Berlin.	Osservatore Romano, Rome.
Frankfurter Zeitung.	Politiken, Copenhaven.
Germania, Berlin.	Pester Lloyd, Budapest.
Giornale d'Italia, Rome.	Post (Die), Berlin.
Hamburger Fremdenblatt.	Reichspost, Wien.
Hamburger Nachrichten.	Rheinische Westfälische Zeitung, Essen.
Idea Nazionale, Rome	Schwäbischer Merkur, Stuttgart.
Imparcial (El), Rome.	Sol (El), Madrid.
	Tag (Der), Berlin.
	Tägliche Rundschau, Berlin.

Telegraaf, Amsterdam.
 Tribuna (La), Madrid.
 Le XX^e Siècle, Brussels.
 Unita (L'), Rome.

Vorwärts, Berlin.
 Vossische Zeitung, Berlin.
 Westminster Gazette.
 Zeit (Die), Wien.

C. BELGIAN PAPERS

(Published in Belgium and Holland.)

[As already noted, this was a special purchase of files from the firm of Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague]

Antwerpsche Tijdingen, Antwerp.	L'Echo de Bruxelles.
Le Belge.	L'Exil, Valkenburg.
La Belgique. (Organe quotidien des réfugiés belges en Hollande Bergen op Zoom.)	Gazet van België. (La Belgique.) 't Getrouwe Maldegheem.
Belgisch Dagblad.	L'Information. "Belgische Sonn- und Montagszeitung."
Bulletin des comités et des oeuvres belges aux Pays-Bas, The Hague.	La Libre Belgique.
Le Compatriote. (Journal quotidien destiné aux réfugiés belges.)	Liste des Belges internés dans les Pays-Bas.
L'Echo Belge, Amsterdam.	Le Socialiste Belge, Rotterdam.
L'Echo de Belgique, London.	Het Vlaamsche Land, Rotterdam.
	Vlaamsch Leven, Brussels.
	De Vlaamsche Stem, Amsterdam.
	Vrij België.

D. TRENCH PAPERS

Several special collections of such papers have been offered to us for purchase but they have been declined for two reasons: first, absurdly extravagant prices asked; second, the questionable historical value of the papers themselves. Yet, there is one type of trench paper, principally used by the Germans, that has real value. This is the *government issued* trench paper, in which, for a regiment, or some special unit, home news and the news of the war were offered to the soldiers. These papers are worth study as showing what the government was willing its soldiers should know. The ordinary type of trench paper is the product of some small military unit, usually a regiment, or at times a company, and has little *general* war history value, though often extremely interesting in itself. Merely that we might have an example of what trench papers were, one collection of samples was purchased, and as it was secured from

Nijhoff, at The Hague, it consists mainly of German trench papers.

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|---|--|
| Armée-Zeitung. | Journal du Soldat, Le, Paris. |
| Ausernsten Tagen, Bern. | Kent Fencible, The. |
| Canard du Boyau. | Khaki. |
| Champagne-Kamerad. | Kownoer Zeitung. |
| Courrier de l'Armée. | Kriegs-Zeitung der 7 Armee. |
| Belgrader Nachrichten, Belgrade. | Kriegs Zeitung der Festung Borkum, Borkum. |
| Der Beobdachter. | Kriegs-Zeitung für das XV Armee Korps. |
| Bilderbogen zur Zeitung der 10. Armee. | Landbouwer, De, Brussels. |
| Bilderschau der Wilnaer Zeitung. | Lampione, Il. |
| Boot's Comrades in Khaki. | Leuchtkugel. |
| Am Bosphorus, Deutsche Soldatenzeitung, Konstantinople. | Liebesgabe zur Armee Zeitung, Wilna. |
| La Buffa. | Liller Kriegszeitung. |
| Deutsche Kriegswochenschau. | Mauer, Die. |
| Deutsche Lodzer Zeitung. | Meldreiter im Sundgau. |
| Deutsche Soldatenpost. | Mitausche Zeitung. |
| Deutsche Warschauer Zeitung. | National Volunteer, The. |
| Deutsches Offizierblatt. | Nil, Le, Lausanne. |
| Drahtverhau, Der. | Onze Temschenaars. |
| Düna-Zeitung. | Ostgalizische Feldzeitung, Lemberg. |
| Echo de Bulgarie, Sofia. | Parole, Deutsche Krieger Zeitung, Berlin. |
| Echo de Tranchéesville. | Periscope, Le. |
| L'Echo de Varsovie, Geneva. | Petit Echo du 18 ^e Territorial, Le. |
| Echo des Marmites. | Poilu, Le. |
| Eigenbrödler, Der. | Poilu sans Poil, Le. |
| Fall In! The Duke of Cambridge's Own. | Propeller, Zurich. |
| Feldgrave. | Putna Zeitung, Focsani. |
| Feldpost, Deutsch Österreichische. | Rire aux Eclats, Le. |
| Feldzeitung der Armee. Abteilung Gronau. | Sachsen im Feld und in der Heimat. |
| Feldzeitung der Bug Armee. | Sappe, Die. |
| Feldzeitung der 5 Armee. | Schein Werfer. Bildheilage zur Zeitung der 10. Armee, Wilna. |
| Feldzeitung der 4 Armee. | Scheuner Kriegszeitung. Hannoverische Landsturmzeitung. |
| Front Feldwochenschrift. | Schweizer Schutzengraber. |
| Front, Le. | Seelenachse. |
| Garde Feld Post, Berlin. | |
| Gubener Kriegszeitung. | |
| Horchposten, Der. | |
| Illustrierte Kriegszeitung. | |

Somme-Wacht. Kriegszeitung der 1 Armee.	Unser Landstrum in Hennegau. Vogesen Wacht.
Sozialdemokratische Feldpost.	Wacht im Osten.
Stosstrupp, Der.	Wilnaer Zeitung.
Streffleur's Militärblatt.	Zeebrügger Tageblatt, Zeebrügge.
Tiroler Soldatenzeitung.	Zeitung der 10 Armee, Wilna.
Toorts, De.	Zwischen Maas und Mosel.
Türkische Humoristisch Satirische Wochenschrift, Stambul.	

E. MISCELLANEOUS NEWSPAPERS AND SERIALS SECURED BY PURCHASES, GIFT OR BY EXCHANGE

(The files here listed are not in all cases complete for the war period. If anyone desires to know just what numbers we have of a certain file, or files, we shall be glad to furnish this information. It will be noted that in many cases the serials are the organs of societies previously listed, but as these serials are regular news publications, they are here enumerated.)

1. NEWSPAPER SERIALS PUBLISHED IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

Allotments and Gardens. (London.)
 Anglo-Italian Review, The. (London.)
 Balkan Review, The. (London.)
 Better Business. (Winnipeg.)
 Bookseller, The. (London.)
 British and Latin American Trade Gazette. (London.)
 British Citizen and Empire Worker, The. (London.)
 British Temperance Advocate. (Sheffield.)
 Bulletin Mensuel de la Chambre de Commerce Française de Londres.
 (London.)
 Bulletin of the Alliance Française.
 Bulletin of the British Chamber of Commerce in Paris. (Paris.)
 Bulletin of the Federation of British Industries. (London.)
 Bulletin of the Imperial Institute. (London.)
 Bulletin of the Russian Liberation Committee. (London.)
 Catholic Monthly Letters.
 Central Africa. (London.)
 Charity Organization Review. (London.)
 Church Army Review. (London.)
 Clerk, The. (London.)
 Common Sense. (London.)
 Commonweal, The. (London.)
 Comrades Journal. (London.)
 Conservative Clubs Gazette. (London.)

- Co-Partnership. (London.)
Covenant, The. (London.)
Democrat, The. (London and Birmingham.)
Dockers' Record, The. (London.)
Empire Review. (London.)
English Race.
English Review.
Esthonian Review. (London.)
Federationist, The. (London and Birmingham.)
Forward. (Glasgow.)
Friend, The. (London.)
Friend of Armenia. (London.)
Future, The. (London.)
Goodwill. (London.)
Guerra, La (in Italian). (London.)
Guerre, La. (London.)
Headquarters Gazette (Boy Scouts Association). (London.)
Headway. (London.)
Highway, The. (London.)
Imperial Colonist. (London.)
Imperial Commerce. (London.)
Imperial Patriots. (London.)
Indian Magazine. (London.)
Individualist, The. (London.)
Industrial League Journal. (London.)
International, The. (Johannesburg, South Africa.)
John Bull. (London.)
Journal of the African Society. (London.)
Journal of the Amalgamated Union of Corporated Employees. (Manchester.)
Journal of the Canadian Bankers' Association. (Toronto.)
Journal of the Central and Associated Chambers of Agriculture. (London.)
Journal of the East India Association. (London.)
Journal of the Farmers Club. (London.)
Journal of the Institute of Bankers. (London.)
Journal of the London Society. (London.)
Journal of the Royal United Service Institution. (London.)
Land and Liberty. (London.)
Land Nationalizer. (London.)
Land Union Journal. (London.)
League, The. (London.)
League of Nations Journal. (London.)

- Liberal Magazine. (London.)
Library Association Record. (London.)
London Daily Times.
Malthusian, The. (London.)
Modern Review. (Calcutta.)
Monthly Bulletin of the Imperial Commercial Association. (London.)
Monthly Circular of the Association of Municipal Corporations.
(London.)
Monthly Leaflet of the Women's Farm and Garden Union. (London.)
Monthly News Sheet (Women's International League.) (London.)
Monthly Proceedings of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of
the United Kingdom. (London.)
Monthly Report of the Admiralty and Outposts Clerical Federation
(succeeded by "The Scribe"). (London.)
Monthly Review of Business and Trade Conditions in South America.
(London.)
National Church. (London.)
National Review. (London.)
Nautical Magazine. (Glasgow.)
Navy, The. (London.)
New East, The.
New Europe. (London.)
New Poland. (London.)
New Witness, The. (London.)
News and Notes (Agricultural Organization Society.) (London.)
News Sheet of the Bribery and Secret Commissions Prevention League.
(London.)
Notes from Ireland. (Dublin.)
Official Gazette of the County Councils Association. (London.)
Overseas. (London.)
Palestine. (Manchester.)
Polish Review, The. (London.)
Political Bulletin. (London.)
Post, The. (London.)
Primrose League Gazette. (London.)
Production. (London.)
Protestant Alliance Magazine. (London.)
Quarterly Review. (London.)
Railway Review. (London.)
Reality. (London.)
Red Cross, The. (London.)
Red Triangle Magazine. (London.)
Review of Reviews. (London.)

Round Table, The. (London.)
Russian Commonwealth. (London.)
Scribe, The. (London.)
Seaman, The. London.)
Shield, The. (London.)
Socialist Review. (London.)
Soldiers Gazette. (Montreal.)
Tariff Reformer. (London.)
Today and Tomorrow. (London.)
United Empire. (London.)
Unity. (London.)
Vaccination Inquirer. (London.)
Victorian Producer. (Melbourne.)
War, The. (London.)
War Magazine. (London.)
White Ribbon, The. (London.)
Woman Worker, The. (London.)
Women's Trade Union Review. (London.)
World, The. (London.)
World's Labor Laws. (London.)

2. SERIALS PUBLISHED IN PARIS, FRANCE

Action Française.
Action Sociale de la Femme.
Afrique Française.
Asie Française.
Avenir Syndical.
Bulletin de l'Alliance Française.
Bulletin de l'Association Centrale pour la Reprise de l'Activité Industrielle.
Bulletin de l'Association Italo-Française d'Expansion Economique.
Bulletin de l'Esthonie.
Bulletin de la Ligue Nationale Anti-Austro-Allemande.
Bulletin de Propagande Française.
Bulletin des Réfugiés du Pas-de-Calais.
Bulletin d'Information Bureau Ukrainien de Presse.
Bulletin du Comité Franco-Britannique.
Bulletin du Parti Republicain Radical et Radical-Socialiste.
Bulletin Mensuel de l'Alliance Universitaire.
Bulletin Mensuel du Syndicat des Mécaniciens, etc.
Bulletin Officiel de la Ligue des Droits de l'Homme.
Bulletin Trimestriel de l'Alliance Nationale pour l'Accroissement de la Population Française.

Bulletin Yougoslave.
 Corée Libre.
 Droit des Femmes.
 Employé.
 Expansion Economique.
 Femme et l'Enfant.
 France-Amérique.
 France-Italie.
 Jewish Tribune.
 Journal des Debats.
 L'Excelsior.
 Le Figaro.
 L'Homme Enchain.
 L'Homme Libre.
 L'Intransigeant.
 Le Matin.
 Lettre du Soldat. (No indication where published.)
 Ligue Maritime.
 Monde Industriel et Commercial.
 Nation Tchèque.
 Nouvelles Religieuses.
 Océanie Française.
 Paix par le Droit.
 Plus Grande Famille.
 Progrès Civique.
 Revue Baltique.
 Revue Hébédomadaire.
 Toute la France Debout pour la Victoire.
 Tribune Juive.
 Voix de l'Arménie.

3. SERIALS PUBLISHED IN THE UNITED STATES

(a) *Daily Newspapers*

Complete files of daily newspapers (for the period of the war, 1914-1919, inclusive) were received through the exchange agreement with the Library of Congress.

Boston Globe.	New York Evening Post.
Boston Post.	New York Evening Sun.
Brooklyn Eagle.	New York Herald.
Chicago Herald and Examiner.	New York Morning Sun.
Chicago Tribune.	New York Tribune.
New York American.	New York World.
New York Evening Journal.	

(b) General Serials

- Adriatic Review. (Boston.)
Advocate of Peace. (Washington.)
American Federationist.
American Labor Legislation Review. (New York.)
Americas, The. (New York.)
Apszrieta (in Lithuanian). (Plymouth, Pa.)
Avanti. (Chicago.)
Bricklayer, Mason and Plasterer. (Indianapolis.)
Bulletin of the League of Free Nations Association. (New York.)
Bulletin of the National Catholic War Council. (Washington.)
Bulletin of the Russian Information Bureau. (New York.)
Canado-Americain (officiel journal de l'Association Canado-Americain).
(Manchester, N. H.)
Chase, The. (New York.)
Commerce Monthly. (New York.)
Detroit, The. (Detroit.)
Fatherland, The. (New York.)
Free Poland. (Washington.)
Friend, The. (Philadelphia.)
Guaranty News. (New York.)
How To Live. (New York.)
Indian's Friend. (New York.)
Intelligencer, The. (New York.)
Intercollegiate Socialist. (New York.)
Intercollegiate Statesman. (Chicago.)
Jewish Immigration. (New York.)
Journal of American History. (Albany, N. Y.)
Journal of the National Institute of Social Sciences. (New York.)
Law and Labor. (New York.)
Modern Business Supplement.
Monthly Circular of the National City Bank of New York.
Monthly Illustrated National Herald (in Greek). (New York.)
National Economic League Quarterly. (Boston.)
National Marine. (Cooperstown, N. Y.)
National Municipal Review. (Concord, N. H.)
Navy, The. (Washington.)
News Letter of the Irish National Bureau. (Washington.)
New York Times Current History of the World War.
Organized Labor. (San Francisco.)
Pacific Coöperator. (San Francisco.)
Proportional Representation Review.
Reconstruction. (Published for the Relief Missions of the Society of
Friends.)

Reforma Social. (New York.)
 Royal Neighbor. (Rock Island, Ill.)
 Royal Service. (Baltimore, Md.)
 Security News. (Topeka, Kans.)
 Serbia. (New York.)
 Silver Cross. (Cooperstown, N. Y.)
 Socialist World. (Chicago.)
 South American, The. (New York.)
 Soviet Russia. (New York.)
 Stars and Stripes (Photographic Reproduction).
 Struggling Russia. (New York.)
 Suffragist, The. (Washington.)
 Sunshine Bulletin. (New York.)
 Transactions of the Commonwealth Club of California. (San Francisco.)
 Under Two Flags. (New York.)
 War Work Bulletin. (Y. W. C. A.) (New York.)
 Weekly People. (New York.)
 Young Democracy. (New York.)

4. LIST OF UNITED NETHERLANDS PUBLICATIONS

Bewegining. (Amsterdam.)
 Dietsche Stemmen. (Utrecht.)
 Gids, De. (Amsterdam.)
 Herald of Peace and International Arbitration.
 Het Leven. (Amsterdam.)
 Katholieke Maandbrieven. (Freiburg.)
 Maandelijksche Katholieke Brieven. (London.)
 Nieuwe Gids, De.
 Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant.
 Nouvelles de Hollande. (Hague.)
 Oorlogskroniek.
 Toekomst, De. (Amsterdam.)
 Toekomstige Vrede, De. (Hague.)
 Van Onzen Tijd. (Amsterdam.)
 Vrede Door Recht. (Gravenhage.)

5. GERMAN PUBLICATIONS NOT INCLUDED IN LIBRARY OF CONGRESS EXCHANGE LIST

Amtliche Nachrichten. (Vienna.)
 Deutsche Kriegszeitung. (Berlin.)
 Frankische Kurier. (Frankfort-am-Main.)
 Größere Deutschland. (Dresden.)
 Krieg, Der.

Mittel-Europa. (Berlin.)
 Preussische Jahrbücher. (Berlin.)
 Rote Fahne, Die. (Riga.)
 Süddeutsche Monatshefte. (Munich.)
 Velhagen und Klasing's Monatshefte. (Berlin.)
 War Chronicle. (Berlin.)

6. RUSSIAN NEWSPAPERS, BOLSHEVIK

Pravda. (Daily, Sept., 1919-June, 1920). (Petrograd.)
 Derevenskia Communa (Rural Commune). (Petrograd.)
 Bednota (Poverty). (Moscow.)
 Volia Truda (Will of Labor). (Moscow, 1918.)
 Communar. (Moscow, 1918.)
 Severnia Communa (Northern Commune). (Petrograd, 1919.)
 Znamia Trudovoi Commune (The Flag of the Labor Commune). (Petrograd(?), 1918.)
 Bulletin Prodovolstvennaho Otdela (Bulletin of Food Department). (Moscow, 1918.)
 Izvestia.

7. SERIALS NOT CLASSIFIED BY COUNTRIES

Bulletin de Latvia. (Published by the Ministère des Affaires Etrangères.) (Riga.)
 Bulletin Yougoslave. (Geneva.)
 Economic and Financial Conditions in Brazil. (Rio de Janeiro.)
 Estonian Review. (Reval.)
 Gazette de Prague. (Prague.)
 Latvian Economist. (Riga.)
 National Economy. (Moscow.)
 Near East Relief (formerly called "The Acorne"). (Constantinople.)
 Neue Europa. (Zurich.)
 Orient, The. (Constantinople.)
 Reconstruction. (Vienna.)
 Red Cross Bulletin. (Riga.)
 River Plate American. (Buenos Aires.)
 Second People's War (in Russian). (Petrograd.)
 Waldibas Wehstnesis (in Latvian). (Riga.)
 War Chronicle (in Russian). (Petrograd.)

8. ILLUSTRATED SERIALS PUBLISHED IN ORIENTAL LANGUAGES AS BRITISH PROPAGANDA DURING THE WAR

Jangi Akhbar (in Hindi language). 39 numbers.
 Satya-Vani (in Tamil language). 57 numbers.
 Chinese language, 60 numbers.
 Japanese language, 58 numbers.
 Urdu language, 70 numbers.

IX. WAR PROPAGANDA

Differentiated from "Delegation Propaganda," which consists primarily of materials issued to influence the decisions of the Peace Conference, is what may be called "War Propaganda." This was issued by all the states during the war to bolster up national fighting zeal, to encourage allies, to influence neutrals, and generally to set forth the just cause and purpose of the belligerent. Each nation usually had an official committee in charge of such propaganda. The printed materials issued were of all sorts—books, pamphlets, posters, post cards, newspapers, etc.,—bearing evidence that they were the direct product of a government-authorized press. But in addition each state used many subordinate non-official agencies, sometimes individual authors, sometimes societies. There is much, for example, in the society publications of France and of Great Britain which is really governmental war propaganda. Much of this type of publication seems now of minor historical value, yet during the war was of great significance, and it should be found in any comprehensive war history collection. We are therefore gathering war propaganda wherever available, and have representative lots from all the greater powers, with a very complete collection from Great Britain.

United States.—Beginning with America's entrance into the war, both the History Department and the Library of Stanford University began collections of American war propaganda, and these are fairly complete for anything directly issued under government authority.

Germany.—In Berlin, in August, 1919, a request was made for a selection of war propaganda and this was later sent to us in Paris, but was not at all a comprehensive lot of such materials, being rather those publications which, in 1919, the German Foreign Office was issuing as new material, or was reissuing as still applicable in setting forth Germany's position. We have, however, through the materials received in the Smith

purchase, and through that found in the British Ministry of Information Library (noted below), a good collection of German war propaganda.

France.—A collection of this type of material was made for us by the official French propaganda bureau, but as in sending it to us it was not differentiated from French "Delegation Propaganda," it still stands in our collection under the latter classification. Ultimately, it must be segregated according to our own judgment as to where it belongs.

Other Belligerents Except Great Britain.—No special collections of war propaganda have been secured from the other belligerent nations, but *all* are well represented in the materials of the British Ministry of War Information Library.

Great Britain.—War propaganda was very highly organized in Great Britain, and, it may be added, more intelligently organized for effect in each locality where it was to be distributed, than by any other nation. Early in the war a part of the Foreign Office staff was commissioned to supervise propaganda, and they, with their associates, became known as "Wellington House," by which were issued vast quantities of material. Wellington House put out its own materials, the materials of approved works, authorized and acknowledged works published by private individuals, and distributed privately published works which it did not acknowledge. It kept a confidential catalogue of all this material and in London I was permitted, through the courtesy of Mr. Headlam Morley of the Foreign Office to examine this catalogue, and to check up on it all works not already in our possession. These were then gathered by the librarian, Mr. Alec W. G. Randall, and given to the Hoover War Collection. Thus we have a very complete collection of British governmental war propaganda. Much to our regret it was not thought possible to give us a copy of the confidential catalogue itself.

This Wellington House collection contains all sorts of material—government documents distributed as propaganda, books, pamphlets, magazines, and newspapers. Among the

last named are files of very interesting pictorial propaganda newspapers in Oriental languages, which were circulated in Asia Minor. The collection contains also publications not necessarily produced either under or by direction of government, but the distribution of which government thought desirable, and of which it acquired stocks.

Ministry of Information Library.—In organizing the British propaganda to be issued by Wellington House, a special effort was made by the Foreign Office to gather enemy propaganda, that this might be studied and met in the British publications. There came into existence at the Foreign Office, therefore, a unique library of enemy propaganda, and into it was gathered also every kind of publication from all the nations at war, and even from neutrals, that might by study reveal governmental and popular attitude toward the war. The materials in this collection were rubber stamped "Ministry of Information," but officials speaking of it usually called it the "War Information Library." For all this somewhat chaotic material, a special study was made by experts and condensed into a printed confidential analysis of enemy propaganda for each nation of the world, showing authors, title of work, character, and suggestion as to how British propaganda should meet it. A copy of this confidential analysis we have, and it is one of the most interesting documents in the Hoover War Collection. Also, we have a large portion of the Ministry of Information Library itself.

This came into our possession in the following way. Talking one day with Mr. A. Forbes Sieveking, F. S. A., librarian of the Imperial War Museum, he made mention of the collection at the Foreign Office, stating that I ought to examine it, and suggesting that portions of it might be given to us, since the collection was even then being picked over by various interested persons. Mr. Sieveking gave me a letter of introduction to the official immediately in charge of the library, who in turn promptly took me to the top floor of the Foreign Office, where, on rows of dusty attic shelves, the col-

lection had been dumped and I was informed that within the week it was planned to permit some interested collectors to pick over the shelves and then to box or destroy the remainder, as no longer of any use or interest. Briefly, here was a bulky "remainder" of the workshop materials of British war propaganda, which was occupying much space and which the custodian wished to get rid of. A hasty examination of some few shelves showed that we had already secured some of this material, but that there was much of value for our collection, and an offer was at once made to solve the custodian's problem by taking the whole lot. This offer was accepted on condition that it be removed within a week. Mr. Binkley was sent the next morning armed with rolls of packing paper and twine to tie up in small bundles everything on the assigned shelves, and at the end of the week, having hired a fleet of taxis, we were the center of some interest in Downing Street, as we carried out and conveyed to Stevens and Brown, in Trafalgar Square, the War Information Library. The packages, properly boxed, were shipped five days later to Stanford University.

This "library," as we are bit by bit getting it into shape, has proved one of the most interesting collections so far secured. Undoubtedly, Mr. Sieveking, and others, had already selected from it what they desired, and what we have is therefore a "remainder," but even so it numbers some four thousand items, and contains representative propaganda material of every conceivable type and from every nation in the world. Books, pamphlets, reviews, newspapers, drawings, cartoons, illustrative material, manuscripts—all are there, as also bits of written memoranda and personal letters by the experts set to digest and answer enemy, or neutral, propaganda. As a collection in itself, the War Information Library has great historical interest, both because it reveals and represents the mechanism of a distinct British war effort, and also for the marginal notations by the experts, some of whom were distinguished lights of English letters. It is not uninteresting that within the week after this collection was on the high seas

enroute to America, I chanced to meet at an afternoon tea the gentleman who had been most largely responsible during the war for the gathering of this library, and learned from him many details of its collection. He stated that he had just written the Foreign Office, suggesting the preservation of the library intact as unique in itself and as evidence of a unique undertaking.

The total number of items that may be classified as "war propaganda" is approximately nine thousand. Very little of this material has been catalogued but it has been segregated by sources of origin and of acquisition, and by countries, and is thus available for use by research students.

X. BALTIC STATES, RUSSIA AND SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

In the work of collection up to midsummer of 1920, little had been attempted or accomplished in Russia, or in the states newly created out of the former Russian Empire. At Paris, delegation propaganda had been secured from these states, and from Finland a special collection, as already noted, of government documents and general works. Otherwise this section of Europe was an unworked field. In the summer quarter of Stanford University, 1920, Professor F. A. Golder, of the Washington State College, at Pullman, carried regular instruction in the Department of History. He was greatly interested in our collection efforts and his familiarity with Russia led to his appointment as an agent of the Hoover War Collection with a general roving commission, but with the primary purpose of securing Baltic and Russian materials. He had been at St. Petersburg when the war broke out in 1914, and later had served with the Stevens Railway Commission in Russia. Still later he had been the "expert" for Ukraine and Lithuania for the Colonel House Commission of historians preparing American studies to be used at the Peace Conference. It was hoped that conditions might permit his getting into Soviet Russia, but this has not proved feasible, hence his work has largely been done on the fringes of that country.

Mr. Golder started for Europe in September, 1920, to be gone a year in collection work. It is not yet possible to give anything like a complete analysis of his results, for the bulk of the materials secured, though shipped, has not yet been received. Also certain arrangements made with local agents and officials are in process of completion, and will not be concluded until Mr. Golder's return to the Baltic countries in the summer of 1921. A brief summary of parts visited and collections made, or initiated, will, however, indicate the general results to date of his trip.

Proceeding first to London and then to Paris, in both of which places contacts were established with Russians able to secure for us valuable materials on the earlier period of the war and even of the first revolutionary movement, Mr. Golder next stopped at Coblenz. Here, through the interest and courtesy of General Henry T. Allen, and of others in the American Army of Occupation, efforts were begun for gathering data showing the work of that army and its relations with the Germans of the occupied zone. Next, in Berlin, further contacts with Russian refugees were established, and various purchases made of German material, such as the Grimm collection of posters, already noted. But the real objective was further north and on October 11, Mr. Golder reached Riga, just in time to be present, through the courtesy of a Polish delegate and acquaintance, at the signing of the preliminary Peace Treaty, October 12, 1920, between Soviet Russia and Poland.

The next two and one-half months were spent in the states of Finland, Latvia, Esthonia, and Lithuania, making collections for these countries of war history materials of all sorts, even copies of manuscripts, individual memoirs, etc. But all the time special efforts were devoted to finding and securing Bolshevik material representative both of those earlier days when Bolshevism was trying to dominate the countries mentioned, and of the later and present period when Bolshevik propaganda from Russia was being smuggled into them. This type of material, for both the early and later period, is difficult to secure, since in each state bordering on Soviet Russia the law punishes the citizen who may be found with it in his possession, and the police are rigorous and energetic in seizing it. In 1919, for example, when Mr. Lutz was at Buda-Pesth, he made an arrangement with the Hungarian government for a collection of Bolshevik propaganda of the régime of Bela Kun, but when our shipping agent, having packed it with a number of book purchases, attempted to dispatch it to us by freight, the Hungarian police opened the cases, and seized the Bolshevik ma-

terial. They were prevented from destroying it, as the law directed, by the protests of an American official, and later, after much negotiation, the government directed its release to us, so that it reached us months after the initial book shipment. This illustrates the difficulty, and also the delicacy, of gathering Bolshevik material in the western border countries of Russia.

Mr. Golder, therefore, was compelled to use much discretion in collection, and made it a rule first to explain briefly to governmental officials the purely historical purpose of his work, with the result that everywhere he gained official approval, and frequently direct governmental aid. Thus the Finnish government gave us a duplicate collection of all the Bolshevik material seizures made by its secret police, and at the end of his work in the Baltic states, Mr. Golder reported that he had secured very complete files of Russian propaganda material. Some of this has already reached us and like other general war propaganda material is of every conceivable type and character. Most of it is in Russian, but there is much in other languages, especially in German and in English. Since, however, the sources from which it was received by Mr. Golder are in some cases still confidential, no analysis of materials received, or on their way, is here permissible.

It is possible, however, to give a list of somewhat similar materials recently secured through another agent, and in a country not visited by Mr. Golder. In Hungary, after the controversy with the police had cleared the air, it has proved feasible to go much more thoroughly than could Mr. Lutz in his short visit in 1919, into collecting Bolshevik material for the Bela Kun episode. This collection contains the following items. The titles are translations.

A. PLACARDS OF THE FIRST (KAROLYI) REVOLUTION

1. Funeral March. (The double-headed eagle is the emblem of the Hapsburgs.)
2. In the Name of His Majesty. (In the foreground is the king, to whom the war victims are showing their wounds.)

3. Lukacsics. (He was the notorious military commander of Budapest before the revolution, and was noted for his cruelty to deserters.)
4. Statistics of the War. The Crime of the Old Régime.
5. We Demand of Wilson a Peace Worthy of Wilson.
6. England, You Lift Them Up.
7. Do you wish 4 Alsaces? (Against the dismemberment of Hungary.)
8. Is This the Way To Pay Tchech Bills? (Against Tchech atrocities.)
9. We Desire a Red Parliament. Vote for the Social-Democrats.

B. PLACARDS OF THE SECOND (COMMUNE) REVOLUTION

10. Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Long Live the Hungarian Soviet Republic Allied to Russia.
11. Proletariat! Our Cause Is the Cause of World Revolution.
12. Propaganda Booklets Are Obtainable from the Janitor.
13. The Hand of the Proletariat, or the Scourge of the Entente.
14. Brigands! Is This What You Wished? (The conference at Versailles.)
15. Forward Proletariat! You Are the Saviours of the World.
16. May 1, 1919.
17. With Me or Against Me? (Red soldier.)
18. Join the Red Army!
19. Forward, Red Soldiers.
20. Every Industry Should Have Its Battalion of Workmen.
21. Brothers! The Deadly Peace of the Entente Is Our Ally.
22. The World Revolution Will Destroy the Pleasures of Capitalist Society—Alcohol and Prostitution.
23. What the Roumanians Wish from Their Murderous Peace Conditions.

C. PLACARDS APPEARING AFTER THE COMMUNE

24. They Wash Themselves. (Those who were reds wash their hands in the Danube. Parliament building in the background.)
25. Scoundrels! This Is Your Manner of Working.
26. The Red Horrified at Having Ruined Hungary.

D. BOOKS WHICH WERE WIDELY READ DURING THE COMMUNE

27. Bela Kun: Documents on the Fusion of the Social-Democrat Party with the Bolshevik Party.
28. Bela Kun: What the Communists Wish.
29. Bela Kun: Who Will Pay for the War?
30. N. Lenin: The State of Revolution.
31. N. Lenin: The Direction of the Struggle.
32. N. Lenin: The Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.
33. N. Buncharin: The Program of the Communists.

34. N. Buncharin: From the Dictatorship of the Imperialists to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.
35. N. Buncharin: The Class Struggle and the Revolution in Russia.
36. N. Buncharin: Down with the International Robbers.
37. A. Kollontaj: The Working Mother.
38. L. Trotsky: Only Work, Discipline, and Order Can Save the Proletariat.
39. Pierre Kropotkin: A Discourse to the Youth.
40. Karl Marx: Coup d'etat of Napoleon III.
41. Karl Marx: Civil War in France.
42. Marx and Engels: The Communist Appeal.
43. Szabo: Struggle Between Capital and Labour.
44. R. Krejosi: Leon Frankel, the Hungarian Leader of the Paris Commune.
45. Arnold Passer: Mene Tekel.
46. Sophie Denes: Women in Communist Society.
47. Jaures-Lefargue: The Laws of Social Evolution.
48. Jules Hevesi: The Technical and Economic Necessity of the Communist Revolution. (German edition.)
49. Jules Hevesi: The Technical and Economic Necessity of the Communist Revolution. (Hungarian edition.)
- 50-74. Several less important pamphlets published during the Commune.

E. PAMPHLETS PUBLISHED DURING THE COMMUNE

75. Hungarian, 40; German, 24; French, 10; Roumanian, 12; Russian, 8; Arabic, 2; different Slavic languages, 27; Hebrew, 3.

F. ILLUSTRATED PAMPHLETS

76. Thirty-three illustrated pamphlets dropped by aviators in the enemy lines (with the object of inciting Roumanian, French, and Tchech soldiers to revolt).

G. PAPERS

77. Daily (in Hungarian and German), 9.
Weekly:
Scientific, 2.
Literary, 4.
Political, 12.

H. DECREES AND LAWS OF THE COMMUNE

- 78a. Collection of decrees and laws of the Commune up to June 30, 1919. (Only these five volumes were published; there was not sufficient time for printing the sixth.)

I. LECTURES.

- 78b. Lectures given at the school of agitators. (The school of agitators was founded to give economic and political instruction to young men who were to become Bolshevik agitators. These documents are rare and very interesting.)
79. Alexander Varjas: Opening Address.
80. Koloman Dienes: The Dictatorship of the Proletariat.
81. Alexander Varjas: Money and the Unearned Increments.
82. Alexander Varjas: Unearned Increments and Profit.
83. Eugen Varga: Series of Nine Lectures on the Economic Theory of Capitalism.
84. A. Varjas: Series of Six Lectures on Modern Political History from 1789 to Napoleon III.
85. A. Varjas: The Principles of the Economic Doctrines of Marx.

J. THE SOVIET PARLIAMENT

86. Proces Verbals of the Ten Meetings of the Soviet Parliament. (We believe that we have secured the only copies of these in existence.)
87. Constitution of the Socialist Republic of the Soviets.
88. Organization and Rules of Procedure of the Central Executive Committee.
89. Names of Members of the Central Executive Committee.
90. Project of Law Concerning the Exercise of Judicial Proof. (Submitted by the Commissioner of Justice to the Soviet Assembly.)

K. DOCUMENTS CONCERNING THE WAR WHICH ARE NOT CONCERNED WITH BOLSHEVISM

91. Diplomatic Documents Dealing with Causes of the War.
92. Documents concerning the movements of the Austro-Hungarian fleet.
93. Diplomatic documents concerning the relations between Austria-Hungary and Italy.
94. Diplomatic documents on the relations between Austria-Hungary and Roumania.
95. Proofs of the violations of international law by the enemies of Austria-Hungary.
96. Germany's reasons for war with Russia.
97. Nine proces verbals of meetings of the present National Assembly. (Concerning the ratification of peace and other interesting topics of the day.)

In addition to the work already noted, and to making ordinary book purchases, Mr. Golder has hunted out individuals prominent in the Baltic states in the period of the war, interested them in our collection, secured from them manuscripts or had

copies made of manuscripts, and started a number of them to writing memoirs for us of leading events. Among these, for example, are manuscripts and memoirs on the Bermondts affair, in the Baltic provinces after the armistice. But the one outstanding result of Mr. Golder's work is the acquisition of a remarkable collection on Russian history antedating the war, and thus not directly grist for the Hoover War Collection, but rather a splendid addition to the Library of Stanford University, offering unusual opportunities in America for studies of Russian history and government.

This is the "Miliukov Collection," and its acquisition deserves special description. Paul Nicholaivitch Miliukov was perhaps the most distinguished professor of the University of Moscow. He was the Liberal leader of the Duma during the last two years of the reign of Nicholas II, and afterward Minister of Foreign Affairs in the provisional government of Prince Lvoff on the overthrow of the monarchy. Mr. Golder had long been acquainted with Professor Miliukov, and while in Russia with the Stevens Railway Commission, had had the good fortune on one occasion, just after the Bolsheviks had come into power, to be able to render to Miliukov a great personal service. In London he visited Miliukov, and learned that in 1914 Miliukov had sent into Finland his private collection on Russian history, placing it in the custody of a German farmer. This collection contains works on Russian history, but is in the main what may be called source material for the study of Russian history, especially in its economic and political aspects. Miliukov had not seen the collection since 1914, did not know its fate, and feared it had been scattered or destroyed. He offered it to Mr. Golder for Stanford University, if the latter could find it and secure possession. Arrived in Finland, Mr. Golder discovered that the person to whom it had been entrusted had been sent to Siberia as a German suspect in 1915, but before arrest had succeeded in transferring the collection to safe hands; that he was later returned to Finland, and now was anxious to get rid of the collection. In fact, he

was offering it for sale in parts, in order to recover expenses incurred in preserving it. Mr. Golder, actively assisted by the Finnish Foreign Minister, Mr. Holsti, made the required payments, secured possession, and has started the collection on its way to Stanford University. Just what the collection contains cannot be determined until its arrival. It was shipped from Helsingfors in thirty-four packing cases, two of which, however, contain personal letters of Mr. Miliukov and are to be returned to him. Mr. Miliukov, in letters recently received, has emphasized the fact that his collection consists less of "library shelf books" than of documents and manuscripts gathered for the study of Russian institutions and history. But this merely adds to its value from our point of view, and in any case a collection gathered by so important and distinguished a person as Mr. Miliukov will constitute a notable addition to the library of Stanford University.

In December, Mr. Golder returned to Paris and London, and in January started for southeastern Europe and Constantinople to continue his work in that region. General reports are being received from him of his results, but as these are necessarily brief, owing to the difficulty of securing proper clerical help in the way of making lists, etc., no extended statement is here made of his acquisitions. He was in Tiflis in January, 1921, just before the Bolshevik drive on that city, but escaped safely and returned to Constantinople in February. Since then he has been working in Bulgaria, Roumania and Serbia. In the late spring his plan is to return to the Baltic territory to complete undertakings started there. Ultimately he is to return to Stanford University as a regular member of the staff of the Department of History, but he will remain in Europe in his present work until September, 1922. Exclusive of the Miliukov collection, the total number of items secured to date through Mr. Golder is 5,300. It is not yet organized for research.

XI. THE STANFORD FOOD RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Throughout the war, Mr. Hoover was impressed with the lack of scientific data necessary for the wise administration of the world food problems with which he was concerned, first as organizer of the Commission for Relief in Belgium, next as American Food Administrator, then as head of the American Relief Administration, and in this connection as chief American representative on the Supreme Economic Council at Paris, and finally as head of the American Relief Administration, European Children's Relief. He became convinced that for the United States and for the whole world an intensive study of the production, exchange, distribution and consumption of food stuffs was needed, both because of its immediate human service in relation to the saving of life and the preservation of health, and also because of its indirect, yet vital, importance in any system of international relations looking toward world peace. Early in the work of organizing the Hoover War Collection it was agreed that a special effort should be made to secure materials, either in print or manuscript, on national and world food conditions, and particularly the official records of the work and experiences of the leading governments. In addition plans were made for the copying of the records of the informational, the statistical, and the administrative sections of the various food commissions of which Mr. Hoover had been the chief organizer.

Thus the collection is rich in materials for the study of the great food problem as it existed during the war. But the gathering of this material was but a part of Mr. Hoover's plan. As finally developed in his mind, it took the form of a Food Research Institute, with experts in charge, and a competent research bureau. A proposal to establish such an Institute at Stanford University has been accepted by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, which has granted the sum of \$700,000 to cover a ten-year period of research. At the time when this report is being written the Institute has reached the stage of a formal organization of Directors and of an Advisory Committee, and is to begin work on July 1, 1921.

The three directors will be Dr. Alonzo Englebert Taylor, the well-known authority on the nutritional and economic phases of food in national life, Dr. Carl Lucas Alsberg, at present chief chemist of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, and Dr. Joseph Stancliffe Davis, who is a member of the economics faculty of Harvard University.

The Advisory Committee consists of the ex-officio members, Dr. James R. Angell, president of the Carnegie Corporation, Dr. R. L. Wilbur, president of Stanford University, and Herbert Hoover, who was specified in the original agreement with the Carnegie Corporation. The additional members are: William M. Jardine, president of Kansas State Agricultural College; A. R. Howard, president of the Farm Bureau, the national farmers' organization; Dr. J. C. Merriam, president of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, D. C.; George C. Roeding, formerly of the California Horticultural Commission, and Julius Barnes, formerly U. S. Wheat Director and president of the U. S. Grain Corporation, and an authority on transportation and distribution methods.

The Advisory Committee, which will from time to time confer with the directors of the institute, is made up, in accordance with the agreement between Stanford University and the Carnegie Corporation, of men of national prominence, representing agricultural, consumer, economic, and other groups of the community.

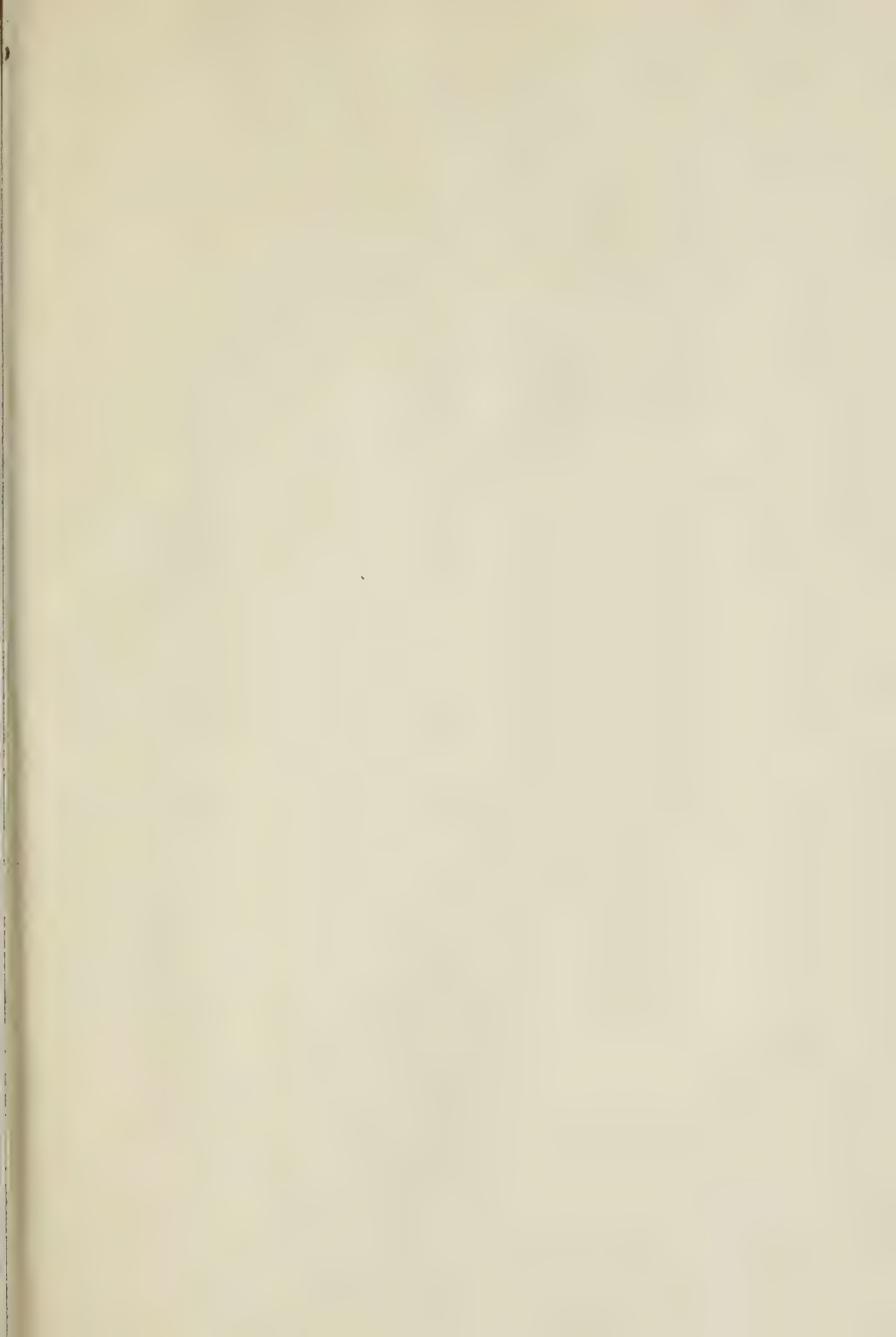
The three directors of the institute will determine the scientific policies of the institute and the problems to be studied. Each of them will head a division of the work, Dr. Taylor in the field of physiology and the chemistry of nutrition, Dr. Alsberg in the field of the chemistry of food manufacture and agriculture, and Dr. Davis in the field of economics and food distribution. They will work coöperatively to cover the whole subject of the production, distribution and consumption of food.

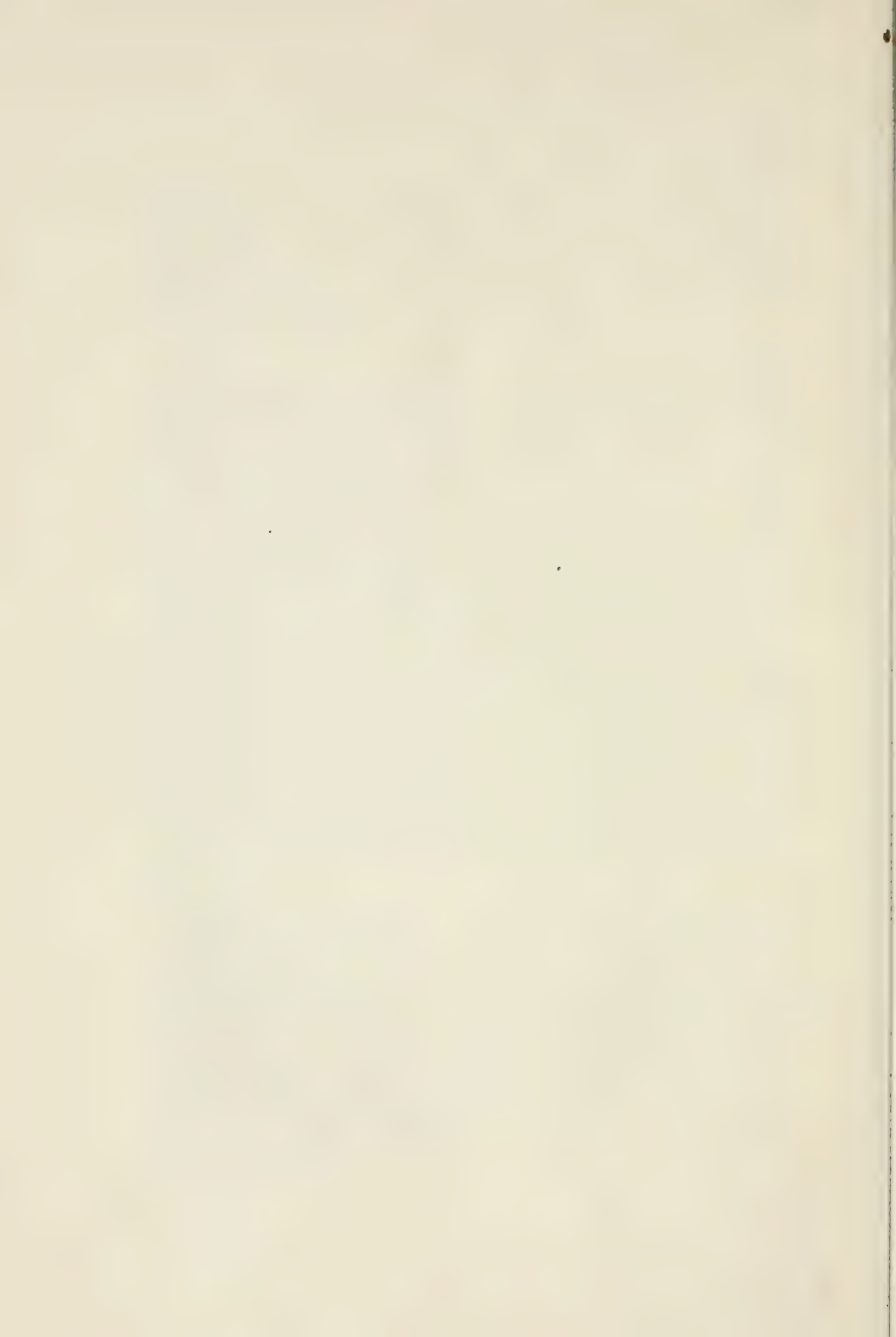
Thus in the field of food research the Hoover War Collec-

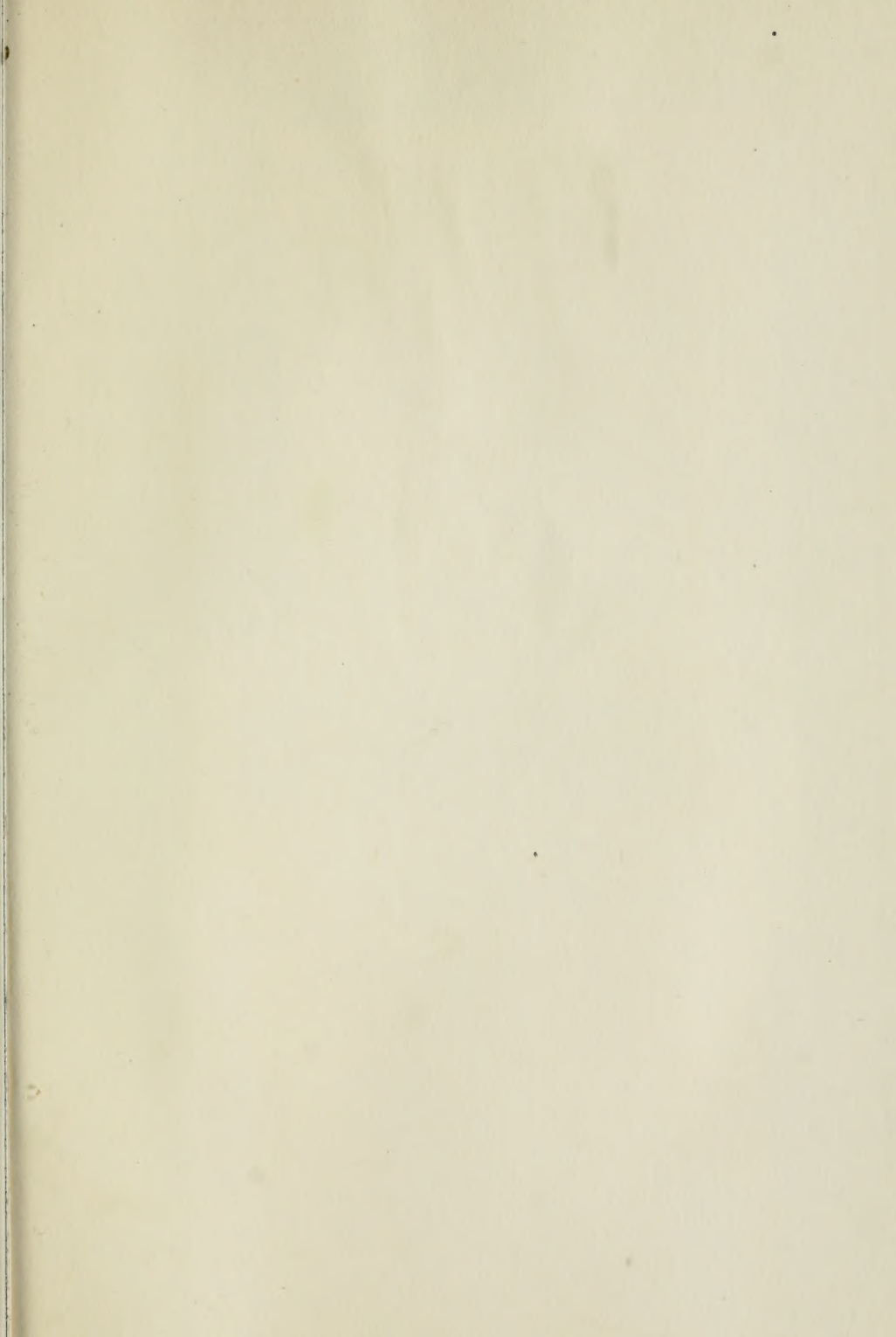
tion is soon to be used by an efficiently organized group of experts and assistants, though, naturally, the greater part of their studies and reports will be based upon investigations derived from data not included in the collection. It will be evident, however, that the collection will be of no small value in the work of the Stanford Food Research Institute.

Ordinarily a report of this nature should include recognition of the assistance given by persons and institutions, but the mere naming of these would result in so long a list of officials and private individuals in all countries, that limitations of space preclude personal mention. Some few have been noted in relation to special fields of collection, in the body of this report, but everywhere there was experienced the greatest spirit of interested helpfulness. Naturally, because of the conditions under which the collection was initiated, the staff of the History Department has had a leading part in the work, and there should be added to those already mentioned, the names of Professor P. A. Martin, who has been our adviser in the securing of South American materials, and of Professor R. G. Trotter, who is directing the work in Dominion of Canada documents. Professor Espinosa, of the Romanic Language Department, has helped to secure Spanish documents, and throughout all our work, and in all aspects of it, the Librarian of the University, Mr. G. T. Clark, has given enthusiastic assistance.

To all who have assisted us, our sincere thanks are here expressed. If, as is fully expected, the work of collecting is to go on indefinitely, we shall hope for the continued advice of these, our established friends, and shall welcome assistance and advice from any who are interested. The Hoover War Collection is still in process of organization, but, though yet uncatalogued in the sense in which librarians use that term, that which has already reached us is, in the main, usable by students and writers of research experience, and is freely open to such use.



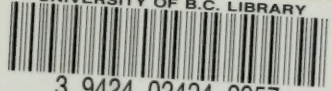




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